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AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF WILLIAM STOUT.



William Stoult

AUTOBIOGRAPHY

WILLIAM STOUT,

OF LANCASTER,

WHOLESALE AND RETAIL GROCER AND IRONMONGER,
A MEMBER OF THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

A.D. 1665-1762.

EDITED FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT.

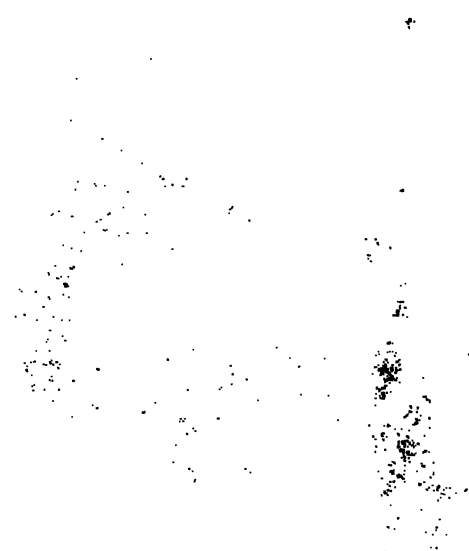
BY J. HARLAND,

ARCHAEOLOGICAL ASSOCIATE; OF THE COUNCIL OF THE LANCASHIRE AND
CHESHIRE HISTORIC SOCIETY, &c.

LONDON: SIMPKIN, MARSHALL, & CO.
MANCHESTER, SIMMS & DINHAM; LIVERPOOL, WEBB & HUNT;
BIRMINGHAM, WHITE & PIERCE; LANCASTER, A. MIERES & SON.

1861.

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June 7, 1935

INTRODUCTION.

THE substance of the following pages first appeared in the *Manchester Guardian*, copied from a small quarto vellum-covered volume, of coarse paper, written in a neat small hand, by William Stout himself. This volume, which, together with the portrait of Stout, descended by inheritance to A. B. Rowley, Esq., solicitor, Manchester, was by that gentleman placed unreservedly in the hands of the Editor. In the articles which appeared in the *Guardian*, several portions, which were not deemed suitable for the columns of a newspaper, were omitted. These, consisting chiefly of the religious reasonings and reflections of a member of the Society of Friends, have all been restored in the following pages, and the MS. is now published entire, and, it is hoped, rendered more interesting by an engraving, from an admirable crayon portrait of the aged Quaker, and more easy of reference by the Index at the end.

All through the MS. the Writer speaks of 1st Month, 11th

Month, as is the custom of Friends, and it was usually explained in the newspaper articles which month was meant. These explanations have however been omitted in the present volume, as the following extract from Sir Harris Nicholas's "Chronology of History" will supply a key to the whole:—

" Before the Act of the 24th George II. for altering the calendar in Great Britain, the Quakers began their year on the 25th March, which they called the 'First Month;' but at the Yearly Meeting for Sufferings in London, in October, 1751, a committee was appointed to consider what advice might be necessary to be given to the Friends in relation to the Act in question. The opinion of the committee was, ' That in all the records and writings of Friends, from and after the last day of the *tenth* month, called December, next, the computation of time established by the said Act should be observed; and that accordingly the first day of the eleventh month, commonly called January, next, should be reckoned and deemed by Friends the first day of the *First Month* of the year 1752, and that the following should be the order of the months:—

Before January, 1752.

Since January, 1752.

11th Month.....	JANUARY	1st Month
12th Month.....	FEBRUARY	2nd Month
1st Month.....	MARCH	3rd Month
2nd Month.....	APRIL	4th Month
3rd Month.....	MAY.....	5th Month
4th Month.....	JUNE	6th Month
5th Month.....	JULY.....	7th Month
6th Month.....	AUGUST	8th Month
7th Month.....	SEPTEMBER	9th Month
8th Month.....	OCTOBER	10th Month
9th Month.....	NOVEMBER	11th Month
10th Month.....	DECEMBER	12th Month.

" The recommendation of the committee, approved by the Yearly Meeting, on the omission of eleven days in the Calendar, was that the Society of Friends should observe the directions of the Act of Parliament, and omit the said eleven nominal days accordingly. This Report was communicated to the Quarterly and Monthly Meetings of

Friends in Great Britain, Ireland, and America, and was universally adopted by the body. The Friends do not use the name of the week-day, but call each day, like the months, in the following order :—

1st Day.....Sunday
2nd Day.....Monday
3rd Day.....Tuesday
4th Day.....Wednesday
5th Day.....Thursday
6th Day... ..Friday
7th Day.....Saturday.”

Nothing has given the Editor more trouble than his attempts to ascertain the capacity of the old Lancaster measure of the “windle.” In various places he has assumed it to be 220lbs., which is the universally-recognised windle of the present day. Some are of opinion that the old windle was equivalent to three bushels, or 210lbs.

JULY, 1851.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF WILLIAM STOUT.

IN the beginning of a book with a parchment cover, of this size and volume, I entered the names of my father and mother, brother and sisters, and their several marriages and habitations, and children, and all their ancestors, so far as I had certain information; as also my father's first wife and her kindred, so far as I had knowledge or information. He was married to her about the year 1627; she lived to the year 1636, and in that time had no child. About the time of her death, my father built [rebuilt?] the house at Boulton Holmes, which had been inhabited by his father and grandfather one hundred years. In the year 1639, my father, then being about 33 years of age, was married at Boulton to Elizabeth Dickinson, aged then 28 years, not before married; and settled upon his said estate, which was but small, about twelve acres of ground, out of which I suppose some provision was made for his five sisters, who were then all married and had children; but what portion he had with my mother I do not know. She was born at Hale, in Westmoreland, of substantial parents, in good circumstances, and was the youngest of five sisters, all married and had children.

My father and mother's first child was born in the year 1660 (in a remarkable year for King Charles the Second's restoration), a daughter named Elin. Their second child was born the 30th day of the 9th month, in 1662; named Josias. William Stout, their third child and second son, who is the writer hereof, was born in the first month, betwixt the years 1664 and 1665, a remarkable year for the great Plague or pestilence in London, in which died in that year about 75,000 people. Leonard Stout, the fourth child and third son, was born about the sixth month in the year 1667. Richard Stout, their fourth son and fifth child, was born in 1669, about the latter end. Mary Stout, their

sixth child and second daughter, was born in 1672, was a tender child, and died when about three or four years of age, before her father. Thomas Stout, their fifth son and seventh child, was born in 1674, and was their last child.

My father and mother were very industrious in their children's infancy, and in a few years had improved their estate to the double what it was when they were married; the lands thereabout being much more valuable then, by the benefit of a large marsh or common, which maintained many thousand sheep; the marsh* then extending half way westward from our house to Presceare, and from Bare in the south, round about the Know [Knoll] End in Lindeth, to Arnsid-well, except

* We may briefly refer to the boundaries of the Great Marsh, now covered alternately by the tide and the sands of Morecambe Bay. Presceare or Prestcarr [Priest's Carr] being to the westward of the house at Bolton, was doubtless submerged. "From Bare on the south (a village on the coast, three miles N.W. of Lancaster) round about the know end in Lindeth," now called Knoll Hill, a little south of Silverdale, "to Arnsid-well:" Arnsid Tower and Arnsid Point, in the neighbourhood of which the well must have been, are a little south of the broad estuary of the river Ken or Kent. "Except a narrow inlet for the tide in Keer." The river Keer enters on the sands in a broad and rapid current, rendering the passage over it at times more dangerous than fording the Kent. A small bay between Lindeth and Warton, is called Quicksand Pool; and in 1818 the remains of a dock were discovered there, formed of large quantities of timber and stone, covering about an acre. Between the mouths of the Keer and Quicksand Pool, the roots of trees are still perceptible on the sands at low water. The estuaries of the Ken and the Keer are deemed so dangerous to persons crossing the sands, that they have given rise to the saying—

"Kent and Keer

"Have parted many a good man and his mere" [mare.]

From Bare (S.) to Arnsid Point (N.) taking a straight line across the bay or sands, is about eight miles as the crow flies; so that the marsh, the loss of which the worthy William Stout regrets, must indeed have been an immense one, stretching along the coast for some nine or ten miles at the least, and separated only by the waters of the Keer. As the parish register of Bolton-le-Sands commenced in 1653, and the first of the seven children was born in 1660, William Stout has probably obtained the dates of births from the register. The free grammar school of Bolton was founded by the Asshetons in 1625-38, and all the children of that township, Nether Kellet and Slyne, may be admitted free for instruction in Latin and Greek. The Free Grammar School and Hospital of Jesus, in Warton, was founded in the reign of Elizabeth, by Matthew Hudson, Archbishop of York. There is still a place on the sands, called Sandsides. Hest Bank is in the township of Slyne-with-Hest. Hatlex is near Hest, and upon the coast. Various schemes have been proposed for embanking the Lancaster or Morecambe Bay Sands, so as to reclaim many thousand acres from the sea. Amongst others, Mr. John Houseman, a skilful engineer, projected a scheme, involving an outlay of £200,000.; but the project failed, although it was encouraged by the great Duke of Bridgewater.

a narrow inlet for the tide in Kear, but not sufficient to receive any boat or barque of burthen. My father then could have kept 100 sheep all summer on that marsh, and about the seventh month yearly the high tides brought the sheep's dung and sea tangle [the sea-weed that grows between high and low water mark] to the side, which was gathered by the inhabitants;—every house at the Sand's side knowing how far their liberties for gathering extended; and I remember ours and our then neighbour, Thomas Yeats' [or Yates] liberties extended from the Pasture Lane yeat [gate], north, to our field called the Greet [great] South Gate, and from thence to the north end of Hest Strand, so far and [as?] Boulton liberties extended, belonged to Samuel Hutton's estate, about half or more of which was purchased by Samuel West, and the rest of it by my mother; so that if the marsh grow again, our proportion of the benefit of that [which] should belong to our part of the estate, which was very considerable, made those estates about one-third more of value than now, when the marsh is washed away.

Our parents were very careful to get us learning to read, as we came of age and capacity, first at a dame school and after at the free school at Boulton; but my sister was early confined to wait on her brother, more than she was well able; our mother not only being fully employed in housewifery, but in dressing their corn for the market, and also in the fields, in hay and corn harvests, along with our father and servants; but our sister was early taught to read, knit, and spin, and also needle work; but as she grew up [she] became tender and distempered by ulcers and broaking-out in [her] limbs and other parts of her body. And for her remedy our father sent her to several doctors at great cost, but not much to her recovery. Some called her distemper the king's evil, and her parents were advised to send her to London, to be touched by King Charles II. which was then supposed to work a remedy for that distemper; and accordingly they sent her, when she was about the age of 16 years, and in a month's time made a journey to London, in the spring, and was touched by the king, and had a token of gold, about 10s. value, to wear about her neck, as the custom was then, but found not much benefit by it; her distemper continuing to dry up and break out at sundry seasons. And indeed the custom of the king's touch seemed to be but the remains of a popish ceremony, which has been disused since King James abdicated the crown, in 1688; but how far a conceit may aggravate or cure a distemper is doubtful to determine. However, she continued so well as to be a good and diligent assistant to her mother, in waiting upon and providing for the younger children in knitting, sewing, and spinning.

As to myself and brothers, as we attained to seven years of age, we were sent to the free school at Boulton, first taught by Richard Barker, and after by Thomas Lawson, who some time after removed, to be the priest or preacher at Warton; and after him Wm. Baynes was school-master at Boulton, so long as I learned at that school, which was till I was 14 years old. Our parents were of the communion of the episcopal protestant religion, and observant of the rites and ceremonies thereof, and walked answerable to the same and a good example to their children, and servants, and neighbours; and instructed us their children in the church catechism, so-called, and to repeat the same before the parish priest, who was then Martin Briggs. And although then very young, I observed the answer the godfathers made to the question "What did your godfathers promise for you?" which was, "to renounce the devil and all his works, the pomps and vanities of this world, and the lusts of the flesh, and to keep God's holy will and commandments, and walk in the same all the days of my life." This engagement had such an impression upon my mind at that time, that I thought it so heavy a charge, that I would never take upon me such a charge as a godfather, if I lived to be a man, or that any one should undertake that charge for my children, if I should live to have any. And I have since much considered which [that] such a strict charge to be put upon any, for the performance of what the generality of protestants in their liturgy profess, is not attainable in this life; but that we must daily sin in thought, word, and deed during our life; which is a denying of the omnipotent power of God and admitting that the devil has more power to hold us in sin, than [than] God to redeem us from all evil; which is contrary [to] the many repeated promises in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, that Christ came to take away our sins and redeem us from all unrighteousness; which we ought to believe is possible, if we are subject to be guided by his inward grace, light, and spirit, manifested to us in our hearts during his gracious visitation, but not otherways;—a manifestation whereof [it] is given to every man to profit withal, in obedience to which salvation is promised to all, of what nation or people whatsoever. So that true baptism is not performed by elementary water, but by an inward and spiritual washing and cleansing our hearts, by the Holy Ghost and spiritual fire, from all dead works; and renewing the same unto an holy fear, in obedience to what may be required immediately from us. Let our outward profession of religion be what it will, no more is required of any person than what it hath pleased God to manifest to be his duty to obey and do. And true Christian charity will lead us not to censure one another for outward ceremonies, so long as we live in love and good neighbourhood, and

observe the golden rule to do to others as we would expect they should do to us, in all moral occasions.

As we attained the age of 10 or 12 years, we were very much taken off the school, especially in the spring and summer season, plough-time, turf-time, hay-time, and harvest, in looking after the sheep, helping at plough, going to the moss with carts, making hay, and shearing in harvest;—two of us at 13 or 14 years of age being equal to one man shearer; so that we made small progress in Latin, for what we got in winter we forgot in summer; and the writing master coming to Boulton mostly in winter, we got what writing we had in winter.

My father bought a small estate in Slyne, of about 12 acres, of one Chapman, designing it for me, but it became encumbered by a widow, who was vexatious, which caused him to sell it again to Cornelius Green, and the widow died soon after, and at that time my father minded to get me constantly to school, to get learning, in order to be placed to some trade or other employment. And soon after he bought a small estate of about eight acres and some old houses in Hatlex, of Francis Ashton of Hest, which he designed for his son Leonard,* who very early appeared inclined and active about husbandry and cattle and following the plough.

It was about 1677, and the thirteenth year of my age, when the sea began to break into our marsh at the south end, next Bare, the river Kent then running very nigh Presceare [Priest's Carr] on the west and south side, and came upon the marsh with a breast, five or six yards deep, and undermined the marsh some yards, so that when the tide came, it fell in many yards backwards, with the noise of a cannon, at least 10 or 15 yards in compass, and so deep as to the sold skears [stake pebbles] which in the memory of man had not been seen, but there were net-stakes and poles at the bottom, which might be seven yards or more than [from] the surface of the marsh; by which it was evident that the marsh had been gathered in about 100 years before that. About this time all the marsh washed away from the south end of our

* The Hatlex estate is now in the possession of Mrs. Alice Hall, whose residence is Hatlex House. In this mansion there still remains an ancient piece of carved oak furniture, with the initials "L. S." upon it, and bearing date "1693;" which, with a few other things, was left on the premises by some branch of the Stout family. Under the date of 1691, the autobiographer states that his brother Leonard about that time built a very good dwelling house and barn and other conveniences at Hatlex, and that his mother increased that estate by the purchase of ten acres of land between that of his brother Josias, at Sandside, and that of his brother Leonard, at Hatlex. The initials on the old piece of furniture are doubtless those of Leonard Stout.

bank to the Bare, which used to be pastured by Slyne and Hest, which used to summer many hundred sheep and some horses. Our sheep used to pasture about the south end of our bank, where some springs made a *pow* [poll or head] or break in the marsh [pow-dike is a dike made in fens, to carry off the waters], which the tide broke into, and made it soft or quicksands, and as the sheep passed over it, they were brought into the quicksands, and when the tide came they were drowned; and even the lambs, standing beside the ewes, when they were fast, sunk fast, and were drowned with them; so that most of our stock of sheep was lost. But, for some years, the breach was confined to the south of Presceare and our bank, till the river Kent got about Presceare, and then gradually broke away all the marsh; and as our marsh washed away, there rose a marsh of some hundred acres at Winder Moor, at the south and west of Cartmel, to the great benefit of that part, and to the great loss of Boulton and Warton, from the year 1678; there being no recovery for 65 years, when this was written [*i. e.* in the year 1743.]

In the spring in the year 1678, my father took me to the school at Hearsom [? Hartsop $6\frac{1}{4}$ miles N.N.E. from Ambleside], in Westmoreland, where Thomas Lodge, a native of Boulton, and our kinsman, then taught; and then reputed the best school and master in these north parts. There were then there five or six boys, natives of Boulton, all boarded with Jennet Hynd, at the rate of £4 a-year, and plentifully provided for and diligently taught. But about the eighth month that year I was seized with a third-day ague [tertian] which continued all that winter, but I got to school every day in the forenoon all that time; but at the next spring it gradually went off. I continued at that school to the tenth month, 1679, at what time the said school-master removed to Lancaster, to be master of the free school there. I made some progress in the Latin there, and was entering into the Greek grammar; but I was not so forward in learning the Latin and Greek as many of my age might; my genius, as they term it, not leading me that way. Nor did I make any great progress in writing, although much taught,—by reason I was naturally left-handed, and could not be steady in my right hand; and then it was supposed that one could not learn to write legibly with the left hand, which was a mistake, for I have seen much writing with the left hand as perfect and regular as any right-hand writing; and I would any who has left-handed children, to teach them to write with that hand, if they intend that they should write fine, in order to be clerks or bookkeepers to merchants.

1679.—My father, being not of a strong constitution, and very industrious in husbandry and employment he was capable of, for the two years

past declined gradually in his health, but not to confine him ; and being sensible that his time in this transitory life could not continue, in this winter made his will, in which he left his eldest son Josias the ancient estate, where he and his ancestors were born, consisting of about 16 acres, free of any charge. He left his only daughter Ellin, £80. He left to me, his son William, some out-parcels of land and money, all to the value of £150.; and to his son Leonard the estate he bought at Hatlex, with some other land, all to the value of £200., and to his two youngest sons, Richard and Thomas, some lands in Kellet and money, each to the value of £100. And he left our mother sole executor of his personal estate, which was very considerable in stock of goods and money at interest ; having improved his estate manyfold, and also had been very much assisting to his sisters, particularly to his sister Maudlin [Magdalene], Bayliffe, of Goosur [Goosnargh ?], with lending her cows to stock a small farm she took, for subsisting herself and children. And, for my settlement, he had this winter been treating with several to put me forth to be an apprentice, and thereupon had come to terms with Henry Coward, grocer and ironmonger, in Lancaster, to serve him as an apprentice for seven years, for which my father was to pay him £20. and to find me all apparel during that term ; which was kept private betwixt them, because the said Henry Coward, although a freeman's son, and had also served an apprenticeship to Henry Johns, a freeman, yet could not be admitted a freeman without an oath, which he would not in conscience make ; he being of the religious society of the people called quakers, and so would not make me free at the end of my apprenticeship, but upon an arbitrary fine. In order to prevent which, my father, the last time he was at Lancaster should have purchased his freedom, in order to qualify me for the same, but was prevented, by Thomas Waller, the bailiff, being then out of the town, without whom he could not be admitted.

1st Month, 1679-80.—In the beginning of this month my father becoming very weak, and a very few days before his death, as he was sitting in his chair, by his house-fire, and in a good composure of mind and resignation to the will of God,—he called us all his children before him, and gave us exhortations to live in the fear of God and in duty and obedience to our mother, and in brotherly kindness to each other ; and reciting to us the exhortations of St. Peter, 2d Epistle, cap. 1, from verse 5 to 9, charging us to observe [them], with several other exhortations, which he caused me then to put in writing, which I did, and left with my mother to keep, but by some accident were afterwards lost or damaged, when I would have had them due, in considera-

tion of the sweet frame of mind and melody of heart and soul he was then in,—it was very comfortable to us, and an assurance of his peace with God and future happiness. He was never inclined to make use of doctors or physic; but as he had lived temperately, to resign himself to the will of God. He was endued with much patience, and went off gradually, without expressing much pain, and very sensible and composed till he expired as if fallen asleep. The loss of so loving, industrious, and provident a husband and partner, much affected my mother with sorrow, she being left with six children, the youngest then about four years of age. My sister Ellin, being then about 20 years of age, was much affected with sorrow at her father's death, and sympathised with her mother on this sorrowful occasion. The two months next before my father's death, I continued to learn at Lancaster School, under the aforesaid master, Thomas Lodge, and for three weeks after my father's death, I went to a scrivener, to learn to write, half, and the other to arithmetic. As for writing I made not much improvement; but in half that time I got so good an entrance into arithmetic, that by my industry I made good progress in it, without any instruction other than books; my inclinations always leading to the learning arithmetic, surveying, and the mathematics.

2d Month, 1680.—The beginning of this month my mother, with the assistance of my uncle John Caton, whose wife Elizabeth was my father's sister, and who was a particular acquaintance of Henry Coward, made application to him to take me to be an apprentice, upon the terms proposed to my late father, which he complied with; that I should come on liking a month or two, and accordingly my mother brought me to his house the 10th of this month, but he was from home, gone to see his wife, at Margaret Fox her house at Swarthmore Hall; being then much indisposed. Upon his return he put me into his shop, where I waited for some months, and then was bound to serve him seven years, from the first day of the third month, 1680, upon the terms aforesaid, being 16 years old. Henry Coward was then about 37 years of age, having two sons and four daughters; and had then one apprentice, Abraham Merrick, from Cheshire, [who] had then two years to serve of seven, the term. My master then had a full trade for groceries, ironmongery ware, and several other goods; and [was] very much respected and trusted, not only by the people of his own religious profession, but by all others, of all professions and circumstances, as well gentry as the most substantial yeomanry, and in appearance a very beneficial trade, more than I had after him. His credit was so much, that any who had money lodged it with him to put out to interest or make use of, and, having great

acquaintance, [he] acted much that way, and had money ready to answer his occasions in trade always. He was a person reputed to have a good judgment in horses, and was always buying or exchanging horses, which occasioned him to be often out, in company of gentlemen and others, about horses, in public-houses, which tended not to his benefit, but diverted him from the necessary consideration and benefit of his trade. In the first and second years of my apprenticeship, he bought the house and shop I served in of John Cawson, being part of Esquire Tilsley's estate in this town, in reversion; Mark Horsfall having a lease for two lives in it, from Esquire Tinsley. My master also bought his interest in it, so got possession and reversion. The building being old, he pulled down the back part and built all new, which might cost him about £200. He was very active in trade, and a very early riser in a morning; and we apprentices, lying in the shop, were early called up, which seemed at first to be a hardship to me, but afterwards turned to my very good liking and benefit. But his wife, my dame, was one who took her ease, and took no notice of trade, or any thing, but indulging her children.

8d Month, 1680.—My father, by his last will had named and requested Richard Dickinson, my mother's brother, and my cousin William Caton, son of the aforesaid sister, Elizabeth Caton, to be the supervisors to see his will performed, and also to assist and advise my mother in managing her affairs. In pursuance whereof, my mother, being desirous to continue to manage the estate in husbandry, as it had been, was advised to get some good servant, well experienced in husbandry, and was recommended to William Jenkinson, who had been manager of a good estate for many years, whom she hired, and [he] continued with her some years, till her own sons were capable to manage the same. My brother Josias being then 18, and industrious, inclined to husbandry, and my brother Leonard, then about 14, and very active at carting or plough, was taken off from school, having got little learning, except to read English and some little writing; and my sister Ellin, being then 20, was diligent in assisting my mother in her housewifery, whilst she was employed in looking after her servants in the fields and dressing her corn, and going to market with the same, as she usually did; and also kept a woman servant to do the hardest house service, and harrow-work, hay, and shear [-ing] in harvest; so that the family and concerns were managed in as good order as could be expected. But about the harvest time this year my mother, so soon after the loss of her husband, was afflicted with great sorrow, by the death of her two youngest sons Richard and Thomas, who died of the small-pox, which distemper was very fatal this year. Richard was then nigh ten years, and a very

hopeful boy, and took learning very well, and forward in it, and of a very good memory; and his death very much affected me, from the great hopes I had that he might have been assistant to me or I to him, if he had lived till I had performed my apprenticeship. My brother Thomas was then about five years of age, and was a weak and tender child, and went off without so much affliction as his brother Richard. The loss of these two children so near together, and so soon after their father, was so [great an] affliction to my mother, that she continued in much sorrow for a long time, as was also my sister; which, added to her other bodily infirmities, reduced her [Ellen] so very low, so that my mother, to divert her, sent her to some relations at Kendal, where she remained some time, and received some benefit in her health. Also my brother Leonard was sent this winter to Silverdale, to one Atkinson, in order to improve himself in learning and writing, which he was deficient in, and much short of what my brother Josias had attained unto, in writing and arithmetic.

1680 and 1681.—About this time many of the most substantial housekeepers in and about Boulton, were taken away by death. Not long before my father's death, my uncle William Barker, of Mearsbeck, died, whose wife Margaret was my mother's sister. His only child, a son, died some time before him, and he left his real estate chargeable with legacies to Elin Yeats, wife of Thomas Yeats, our next neighbour, who was his brother's daughter; but his personal estate he gave to his widow, our aunt, who, some time after my father's death, came to dwell with our mother, and was very kind and bountiful to us, but did not continue many months till she also died and left to our mother a good part of her effects, to her disposal to us her children, which she frugally managed to good profit.

It was in the year 1680 that William Pen,—in consideration of what was due to his late father, Admiral William Pen, from the crown, for his many years' service in that station with great honour and success,—got a patent or purchase from King Charles II. for a large tract of land of some hundred miles' extent (as big as England) on the west side of Delaware, in America, and upon which he published proposals to encourage the planting and peopling, that any purchaser should have 1,000 acres for 100 free farm, upon a final quit rent, and that all people professing the Christian religion should have the free exercise of the same, without any imposition or contribution for maintaining the same, except what was voluntary. And in order to the improving it, he went over in 1681, and many of his friends, called quakers, and of other religious professions, as purchasers, and soon after their arrival,

marked out a piece of ground in an angle where Schulkele [Schuylkill] river entered into Delaware river, of two miles square, to build a city upon; which was early begun, and carried on with that industry that in ten years' time there were above 1,000 houses built and inhabited; and, in the country, to some distance [the land] purchased and cleared and improved in husbandry, not only to support the province, but also to export to our sugar colonies to the southward.

At the same time, and the last four years of the reign of King Charles II. the laws for the prosecution of all protestanters for their not conforming to the episcopal worship, were put in execution, and their religious meetings suppressed; which the presbyterians evaded by meeting secretly, so that the severity fell mostly upon the quakers, who continued to meet publicly, upon which they underwent great sufferings by the law, made mostly against them, which imposed a fine of £20. upon the preacher and £20. upon the house or inhabitant where such conventicle or meeting was kept; and for non-ability of the preacher or inhabitant, the fine might be made upon any one of the hearers or congregation. Upon which many had all their cattle and household goods taken from them all over the nation; or, if no distress to be had, imprisoned. In Lancaster, the mayor ordered the meeting-house door to be locked, and set a guard upon it, on the first day weekly, to prevent a meeting; yet the Friends met in the lane before it, at the usual time, without disturbance for some time; and oftentimes meetings were kept in my master's house publicly; but the magistrates were so favourable [as] not to admit of any information against them; although the law was so severe, that if any justice of peace refused to convict and fine upon any vile person's oath, the said justice was liable to a fine of £100. Great distress was made of the goods of the quakers in the hundred of Loynsdale, to some hundreds of pounds; and it was projected that this severe prosecution would have driven them all to the aforesaid province of William Pen, which he named Pensilvania and the aforesaid city Philadelphia; and although many went, and in fifty years time it became more populous than some others that had been planted fifty years before it; yet the severe prosecution rather increased the protestant dissenters in England. Many of the people called quakers were committed to the county gaol for the non-payment of tithes, church rates, and for not taking the oath of obedience, or not answering in the Exchequer, Chancery, and bishops' courts upon oath; so that there were mostly forty or fifty at a time prisoners on these accounts; which my master undertook to provide bedstocks for, as also firing and candles for, and other necessities for such as were poor, which charge

was defrayed by the quarterly meeting for the county. Seth Bushall, styled doctor of divinity, was vicar of Lancaster parish this hot persecution time, and was a person of a moderate disposition, and much discouraged persecution for religion, or prosecution of any of his parish for what was customary due, and very courteous to dissenters of all denominations; so that none of his parishioners were troubled by him. But Garforth, his predecessor, was an austere man, and severe for his pretended dues, and prosecuted them who did not pay, especially the quakers, to imprisonment to London. And James Fenton, who succeeded Bushall, was a haughty man, and very severe in exacting his pretended dues, to imprisonment of several.

1682.—The beginning of this year, my fellow-apprentice, Abraham Merrick, had finished his apprenticeship; and as this summer was very droughty, it was expected that there would be a dearth, and he was employed by some persons here to go into the north of Ireland, to buy oatmeal, which he did,—which was brought hither, but did not prove to the projected profit of his employers. He afterwards went into Cheshire, his native country, and began his trade at Tarporley, and married, but did not improve himself much; his conduct not so good, but took liberty to keep unseasonable and disorderly company. Some time after, my master took another apprentice, one William Chippindale, the youngest son of John Chippindale, of Boulton [le Sands], who was first put to an inkle-weaver at Manchester, who broke; and so he returned home, and was bound to my master to his trade for seven years. Before I came apprentice, my master had one named John Lawson (he was born at Heysam), who kept a shop for him at Cockerham for some years, and to whom he sold the shop, and turned over the trade there, when he was loose; which he did not manage, or govern himself as he ought, so that, in a few years, he was reduced to poverty, and great disorder in his mind. And about this time, my master was disposed to take a shop in Boulton; which he did, and appointed me to attend it two days weekly,—I suppose projecting that I or his other apprentice, being natives there, might settle there; but after about a year trial, finding that it did not answer to his expectation, he let it drop, and sold the goods to Roger Hind, a shoemaker, who continued it.

The winter this year proved very scarce of fodder, straw being short, and the grass burnt up in summer, so that little hay was got. People were very much straitened to keep their cattle alive, and many starved; but although the corn was short, it was well fed, so that the dearth was not so great as was feared.

I was mostly employed in the shop in the week-days, in making up

goods for the market day, as sugar, tobacco, nails, and other goods, and particularly prunes, which we made up in the summer time, about one cwt. weekly in 11lb. and 21lb., and sold them 3lbs. for 4d. commonly, which we bought then for about 8s. or 9s. a cwt., and brandy for £10. a hogshead, and about £8. a hogshead on foreign goods; being then very low in duty. Tobacco, 2d. a lb., retailed at 6d., which caused a great consumption; and three or four of us fully employed every market day in delivering out goods, so that we had a full trade then, and the best of customers; and might have got an estate if well improved, there being then no taxes, except a small excise on ale, and custom on foreign goods, and 2s. upon every chimney or fire-hearth yearly;*—there being no parliament the four last years of King Charles's reign, nor any standing army, but only the militia raised a week or ten days every summer, which was a charge to the country equal to a standing moderate force.

1683.—Not anything remarkable to note, only the long and sharp frost this winter. It begun about the 11th of 9th month, and continued to the beginning of the 12th month, being the whole winter quarter, to the great hardship and mortality of many people. It was the longest and sharpest frost with snow that had been in the memory of any man then living; killed many sheep and cattle,—all rivers and fresh waters being frozen, so that water was scarce to serve cattle and necessary occasions. This was about the middle of my apprenticeship, about which time I attended the shop in winter, with the windows open, without any sash or screen, till about nine in the evening, and with the windows shut and the door open till ten o'clock, without coming into the house except to our victuals, or to the fire; having our bed in the shop, and had my health well all the time; which, although it might seem a hardship at present, yet made me so hardy, that at any time I could endure the coldest season, if dry. I remember in that great frost, one fast-day (Sunday), I was earnestly invited to sit by a good fire with the family; but I had sat but a short time before I began to be faintish, and thought it best to leave it and walk out into the air, to be walking there, or active in the shop, where, when out of necessary business, I passed my time in reading or improving myself in arithmetic, surveying, and other mathematical sciences, which I was most naturally inclined to, and made some progress in, more than my present station required, but was of some service upon some occasions afterward.

Some time after the great frost, my fellow-apprentice, William Chipindale, died, so that I was left the only apprentice. But soon after, my master took one Richard Parke, from Sunbrek, [? Sunbrook, near

* The chimney-tax was passed May, 1662.

Bardsea] in Furness, as a servant to look after the horses and cow, and other necessities about the house, as also to help in the shop upon occasion. And in the house he kept two maid servants, one to wait upon her mistress, who minded little but her own ease and appetite, and the children who were nursed out to suck, and the other servant to the kitchen work, which made the housekeeping chargeable, and himself often out, and often in chargeable and unnecessary and unprofitable company, and bargaining, and supporting persons in declining circumstances, and not of good reputation; which in time proved to his own discredit and loss of his esteem amongst his best friends and customers, and the society of the religion he professed, to the grief of many of them.

1684.—This year most of the nation were in great discontent; the protestant dissenters upon their severe prosecution (and hunted after by vile informers) upon statutes made against papists and popery, which was pleasing to the persecuting-principled clergymen of the established church, and popishly affected; the papists then being connived at; but the sober and conscientious part of the church of England were much displeased at perceiving that the proceeding was projected in order to promote popery; and more, as the Duke of York was a profound papist, presumptive heir to the crown, and King Charles in a declining state of health, and refusing to call a parliament, in order to settle the succession, and make provision for the crown. The king being so much in debt that the exchequer was shut up, and some arbitrary means used to get money, particularly by calling [in] the charters of the cities and boroughs who chose members of parliament, and granting new ones, with limitations, at great expenses, which caused great uneasiness. But in the latter part of this year, King Charles died; and, contrary to expectations of many, his brother, the Duke of York, was proclaimed king, and at the same time acknowledged himself to be in communion with the church of Rome, but declared that he would maintain the church of England as now by law established, in all its rights, privileges, and immunities, which at that time gave content to indifferent churchmen; but the sober, conscientious, and observant people of all protestant professions, thought that he [being] of the popish profession, could not, or would not, wish the same performed. But in a short time he was crowned, and sworn to maintain the government of church and state as by law established, which seemed to give a general content to the episcopal clergy and people; and he soon after summoned a parliament to meet at Westminster, and who met accordingly, in which he, by his speech to them, confirmed his said declaration and oath, which

seemed so satisfactory to them, that they granted him not only what his brother had, but also gave him large additions in excise and customs, particularly 8d. a lb. custom on tobacco, and £8. a tun upon wine, and others proportionately, which enabled him to raise an army to oppose the Duke of Monmouth, natural son of King Charles, who at his father's death was retired into [Holland] from whence he came with some forces into the West of England, claiming the succession to the crown, and was joined there by some thousands of the common people; but was pursued by King James's army, and in an engagement was defeated and taken, and soon after beheaded, and many of his party slain and taken, and the taken were tried by Judge Jeffreys [Jeffreys] and executed in a barbarous manner, many of them for only harbouring the distressed. So King James got confirmed, and also got a standing army, which, contrary to his expectation, was his overthrow.

1685.—Hitherto I frequented the religious worship of the church of England, so termed, being the same professed by my parents, who educated their children in the same, upon the first days and any other opportunity, without any hindrance, discouragement, or dissuasion of my master or any of his society; yet not greatly to my satisfaction, considering the formality and indifference there appeared of a sincere repentance, as was enjoined in their common prayer liturgy, and ceremonies, and catechisms, was prayed for and promised, which induced me to a further search of practical religion in truth and sincerity, which is the substance of all. And as my master lodged and entertained most of the preachers who came to visit their meetings, and notwithstanding the severe execution of the laws against conventicles, they had frequent meetings at his house in the evenings, which, being joining to the shop, gave me and others an opportunity at the entry door to hear their sermons and testimonies, many of which were so simple and plain, and agreeable to the scriptures of the Old and New Testament, that they affected me so far as to have a favourable opinion of their principles, to be answerable to the plainness and simplicity of the primitive Christians; but at the same time [I] did not at the same time think of entertaining or professing them, but rather to favour such as pretended to confute them. And as I had then little more than two years to serve, I should then be removed from any further opportunity of hearing their doctrine. But, upon the first day of the week in the evening, in the 11th month, 1685, a meeting was held at my master's house, in which one William King, a plain country farmer, of Craven, in Yorkshire, preached; where I then attended, and the same was so much in the demonstration of the power and holy spirit of God, to exhort all to

an obedience to the light revealed in the heart and soul, of our duty to God, that it irresistibly constrained me to own his testimony and submit to my conviction and obedience to the inward teaching of the Spirit and power of God in Christ Jesus, which, if obeyed, would lead unto all truth. And the conviction was so powerful, that I resolved through the divine assistance of the said power, to make a public profession of the principles of the people called quakers, as most agreeable to the principles and practice of the primitive Christians, and the doctrine and self-denial and sufferings of Jesus Christ and his Apostles, who taught that, through many crosses and afflictions the kingdom of heaven is obtained; which is largely set forth in the 5th, 6th, and 7th chapters of St. Matthew. And although I was then much comforted in the power and presence of God in my soul, I was sensible I must meet with many crosses and afflictions, in being obedient to my present convictions, which I earnestly prayed to God I might be preserved in to the last. And although I was fully convinced that the principles of truth, as professed and preached by the people called quakers, was what I ought to join with, and make open profession of, and had a sure evidence thereof by the comfortable presence and power of God, sealing the same to me in solid retirement, in waiting upon him in true silence,—yet at times, natural reasoning suggested to me that, in conforming to the profession of the said people and principles, I should incur the displeasure of my mother, brothers, and sister, and other my kindred, none of whom was of that profession, as also the hatred and scorn of my intimate neighbours and acquaintance in not giving a plural respect to a single person, contrary to the practice and example of primitive believers and Christians, as recorded in the Holy Scriptures, and practice of all antiquity, and contrary to our prayers to the Almighty and Omnipotent fountain of mercy. And also, I should be exposed to scorn in not uncovering my head in addressing to my superiors, and appearing in conformity with the many changeable fashions; and also it was suggested to me that, as I was now near entering into the world for preferment in trade or other business, my joining in society with the quakers would be a great impediment, if not wholly prevent my getting forward, as I might otherwise have attained to, if I had not embraced this religion; all which considerations I had frequently entertained, but kept to what I was convinced of as my duty to God; and retired much, and read, and meditated on the Scriptures of truth, in which is recorded that through many crosses and afflictions, the Kingdom of heaven is obtained, and that we must obtain a new birth, as the Scriptures witnesseth, viz., a natural and [a]

spiritual birth ; and that we must pass from ceremony to the substance of religion, which is to depart from the corrupt friendship and practice of this world. And in my retirement I often witnessed the power and presence of God to manifest to me the emptiness and vanity of the ceremonies of baptising or sprinkling infants, terming it baptism, as also that other ordinance, called the Sacrament, or Communion of the body and blood of Christ ; for which there is no institution in the New Testament ; but they are rather an imitation of the Jewish Passover and their baptising proselytes. Christ's baptism is with the Holy Ghost and fire, spiritually. As this is witnessed, there is a spiritual communion and spiritual eating and drinking the flesh and blood of Christ. This is the unction or anointing that we must witness, in order to enter into the Kingdom of Heaven, which the Scripture says is within us.

1687.—This being the last year of my apprenticeship, I kept close to my trade, and without much conversation with any, further than my occasions required, and that in a meek and gentle manner, not to give a just occasion of offence to any, and thereby appeased any from taking offence ; neither was willing to enter into disputes with any about the outward ceremonies and forms of Christian professors, remembering what Cato in his Distiches writes, [which] in English is :—"Against men of many words, do not contend in words ; for many have words, but few have wisdom." And although he was called a heathen, yet it was a Christian expression ; and I have observed sometimes that wisdom has oftener demonstrated itself in silence than in many words, or natural or acquired oratory, which, as Elihu, in Job, says, darkens true judgment with knowledge. And, as I continued to hunger and thirst after true knowledge, the same was more and more manifested to me, and I found that my kindred used moderation, and seemed satisfied with me as to my change of profession and habit and language ; and so did all others I had occasion to converse with, being always careful to do it in a prudent manner, in a submissive way, without many words ; always retaining charity to people of other professions of religion ; believing that all who walk according to the moral law, to do to others as they would be done by, and are obedient to what they are convinced they ought to do, although in the cross to their own wills and natural inclinations, are accepted of the Lord God. For, as it is recorded in the Holy Scriptures, by Peter, Acts x. verse 35, that God is no respecter of persons, but that in every nation he that feareth God and worketh righteousness is accepted with him. And although they have not the historical knowledge of the birth, miracles, sufferings, and death of Jesus Christ, manifested to them, these will be justified before God more than those that

have the Holy Scriptures, who depend of [on] their own knowledge more than [on] obedience; not duly improving the large talent given them. And such as have improved the small talent given them, shall be more accepted and rewarded. And, in considering the profaneness, immorality, and wickedness practised amongst the generality of the professors of Christianity, it may be supposed that more real Christianity is observed in the Indians in Asia, Africa, and America, who have not the knowledge of the history of Holy Scriptures, but are obedient to the inward manifestation of the will of God.

During all the time of my apprenticeship, I had scarcely been ten miles from home; but my master having some commerce with one Allen in the Isle of Man, and could not satisfy the officers of customs here without a certificate from the government there,—in order to get which he sent me thither in the latter part of this year. I went from here [Lancaster] along with Thomas Robinson, apprentice to Augustine Greenwood, who was the receiver of the crown rents there. We went in a small vessel bound for Dublin, and in twelve hours came over against Douglas, and met with a small fishing boat, who took us in and put us on shore at Douglas; and, in less than a week, [I] got my message dispatched, and in that time had an opportunity to go from Douglas to Peel Town, and from thence to Castle Town; and so had a view of the best part of that island, which is most of it mountainous and barren, and thinly inhabited, except in and about the aforesaid towns: but, proportional to the inhabitants, they have plenty of fish, fowls, flesh, beer, wine, and other provisions plenty, and at half-price as with us;—so one may live plentifully there at half-price they may in England, and many go there to dwell who are reduced to straits here, by extravagance here or other misfortunes,—who are safe there from any prosecution of the laws in England, for any debts contracted here, or other misdemeanours committed in England or Ireland. So soon as I had dispatched my business, I took the first opportunity to return home; in order to which I went on board a small vessel at Darbyhaven, bound to Liverpool with oysters (my neighbour not being then ready). We came out in the evening, and in the night met with a great storm of wind and snow; and, having no convenience of a cabin or shelter, I was very much starved and cold, the effect of which I think I felt the next year, as after writ; but the next morning with much difficulty and assistance we got into Douglas harbour, where, at old David Morris's house, I was well entertained and refreshed; and soon after went with my neighbour Robinson on foot to Castletown, who then had dispatched his business, and in a few days had the opportunity

of returning by a barque of Workington, Thomas Walker, master, bound to Piele of Foulder, where we arrived the next day; and although we met with much wind and storm as aforesaid, yet I was not sea-sick or vomit, as is usual with persons at their first going. I took out with me some garden seeds which I sold, and brought home a cask of Manks old beer and some kid-skin gloves.

All the time of my apprenticeship my mother, brothers, and sister dwelt together in much concord and industry in managing their husbandry, and as my brother Josias was now at age to manage for himself, yet he was very industrious and careful for us all, as was my mother, and by their care and industry had much improved with building and improving at Hatlex, for my brother Leonard, now about twenty years of age; my sister continuing infirm, but careful in the house, whilst my mother was assisting in the husbandry, in turf, hay and harvest time, and dressing corn in the winter. She and my brothers continued healthy, as I was all my apprenticeship, although much inured to cold, and some time to ordinary entertainment. My sister had the offers of marriage with several country yeomen of good repute and substance; but being always subject to the advice of her mother, was advised, considering her infirmities and ill state of health, to remain single; knowing the care and exercises that always attend a married life, and the hazard of happiness in it. And my sister about this time was visited with a violent fever, which with other distempers reduced her to be extremely low and weak, [so] that for some time we had no hopes of her recovery.

For seven years past the sea continually wasted their marsh and [the river] Kear, which used to run near Lindeth, now drew towards Boulton Holmes, and to within Prescear, and also drew in the main river Kent, so that all the marsh to the west and north of us was washed away, which was what Boulton used to have the benefit of; and the rivers running so near in the hot summer season, the cattle gadded over to Prescear, and stayed till the flood, and then attempting to swim home, were driven down by the ebb tide to the sea, and many drowned. But we did not lose any, although several were taken down, and swam on broad-side, as far as the sandbank, which is between Loyne [Lune] and Heysame Lache [Heysham: Lache, a muddy hole or bog] where they were cast [ashore] alive and well, and taken up for stray, and not heard of for some time, or expected alive. The distance they swam was at least seven miles, which is wonderful to consider.

John Bryer, son of Edmund Bryer, of Kellet, by his first wife, whose second wife was Agnes Barker, and sister to my father's first

wife, Grace Barker ; but neither of them having any child, we did not claim any kindred to each other. The said John Bryer and I was born both in one week ; sprinkled or christened at Boulton together, and bound apprentice, he to Thomas Green and I to Henry Coward, both at one time, and loose from the same both at one time. I never thought the time long to be out of my apprenticeship, as too many youths are, but always thoughtful or doubtful of my capacity and circumstances to manage my trade to reputation and advantage ; not determining which way of business to undertake, till, soon after my return from the Isle of Man, my master told me that John Bryer had taken a shop of George Townsend, Esq., and that there was one next to it to be let, if I had a mind ; upon which I viewed them, and found that which was to let not proper for me, but rather the other, that Bryer had taken, so thought no more about it.

Sometime this year Christopher Harrys, a draper and grocer in Cartmell, of great business, but a very penurious and slavery (?), who frequented our market at Lancaster, and usually, to save the charge of carriage, brought one or more horses to carry his goods ; but in crossing the sands some horse faltered and cast his loading, which he endeavouring to put to rights, was so long that the flood came and he was drowned, notwithstanding several came by and saw him, but he would not call for assistance, otherwise might have saved his goods and life. Upon his death, his shop and goods were to be sold, and John Bryer was advised to buy them, being a place well customed, which he complied with, and then applied to me to take the shop here [in Lancaster] off his hands ; offering some abatement of the rent, which was £5. a-year ; which I accepted, but never got any thing. But he was in a little time tired at [of] Cartmell and crossing the sands, and left that place and took a shop near me in Lancaster and began his trade here.

So soon as I had taken a shop I applied to my mother and brother, in order to get what money I could of what was due by my father's will, which was £50., let by my father on bonds to John Hodgson, merchant, designed for me, and £3. 10s. interest ; and I sold three acres of land in Kellet Intacks [inclosures] to Henry Batson for £33. ; and some lands my father bought of George Gardner I sold to my brother Josias for £33., left me by father's will,—in all £119. 10s. ; and I borrowed £12. which I repaid the 2nd of 12th month following ; so that the said £119. 10s. was all that I could command as due by my father's will. I borrowed of my sister £10., which I kept many years. All this money was got ready, and I bought deals and boards and employed a joiner to make chests and draw-boxes [drawers] to fit the shop.

1688.—The time of my apprenticeship was not out till the first of 8d month next; but there were several of our neighbours, shopkeepers, determined to go to London at the end of Lent assizes. Upon application to my master, he discharged me from my apprenticeship, in order to have the opportunity of going with them; and my brother Josias offering to lend me a horse, I made ready for the journey and took with me £120. of the aforesaid sum. I set forward the beginning of the 2d month, 1688, in company of Thomas Green and other neighbours, and one Manser, of Borwick, and William Clarkson, of Halton, two youths who went for preferment, and we all got well to London in five days, and lodged at the Swan with Two Necks, in Lad Lane; and as soon as I got there, I applied to such tradesmen as I had been recommended to, and bought of sundry persons goods to the value of £200. and upwards, and paid each of them about half ready money, as was then usual to do by any young man beginning trade; and the Edward and Jane ketch, James Myers master, being then taking in lading for Lancaster, I got all my goods on board him in a week, and was then ready to return; which I did with my neighbours so far as Stony Stratford, and then left them and came alone by way of Northampton, Leicester, and Nottingham, to Sheffield. I brought down with me from London to Sheffield about £20., which I laid out there in Sheffield and Birmingham manufactures, and got well home the end of that week; and the next week forwarded the finishing of the shop, and laid out the remaining £20. in that and in buying nails and other things of this country's manufacture. And that day week after I got home, the ship got to Lancaster, in seven days' passage from London hither. [I] got the goods landed, and the shop and cellar fixed and furnished with about 300 [pounds] worth of goods, against the summer fair.

I took off the shop a small room, for a bed, table, and a small light, where I lodged, and upon the 28th day of the third month, 1688, I went to board with Alderman Thomas Baynes, at the price of £5. a-year, victuals and washing, but lodged in the shop, so was seldom in the house, which was adjoining to my shop, but at victuals, summer or winter; for in my apprenticeship, and sometimes after, we were frequently called up at all times of the night to serve customers; [which] obliged us to have a bed in the shop. At midsummer fair I had good encouragement, without inviting any of my master's or neighbour's customers, which was a practice much then used, but by me always detested, as being contrary to the golden rule to do unto others, &c. My sister Elin came at the fair to assist me, and on the market days, and was as ready in serving retail customers as a young apprentice

could have done. And I always detested that [which] is common; to ask more for goods than the market price, or what they may be afforded for, but usually set the price at one word, which seemed offensive to many who think they never buy cheap except they get abatement of the first price set upon them, and it's common for the buyer to ask the lowest price, which if answered, they will still insist of abatement; to whom I answered they should not tempt any to break their words. And I observed that such plain-dealing obliged worthy customers and made business go forward with few words.

I had not been above three months in business in my shop, till I was visited with a sore distemper, which I suppose was the effect of my starve I got, in my first attempt of returning from the Isle of Man. It began with a great pain in my legs and knees, so as I could hardly walk, and ascended upwards to my body and arms, and got me quite down, and to bed in the house, where I laid, not able to stir leg or arm, or turn myself in bed without help. The doctor called it a rheumatism, and I was let blood in each arm several times, and had a great quantity of blood taken from me, which brought me very weak, so as many thought I should not recover. But after lying about a month in that weak condition, I got some appetite for nourishment. The doctor said I was feverish and must take weak meat and drink, but I coveted better. My neighbour John Bryer visited me often, and once merrily told me I must take better meat and drink, and told me where there was very good ale, and sent for some, and I drank one or two glasses of it, which very much refreshed me, and my appetite increasing I easily recovered, and got into the shop, and lodged in it as before; and in the winter, my dear sister Elin attended me and the shop all the time of my weakness, and was very active in the shop, considering her time of experience in her assisting me before.

This year must be remarkable for the strong revolution then happening. King James, at his accession to the crown, called a parliament, to whom he did engage to govern according to the laws, and maintain the state and the protestant religion as by law established, although at the same time he did declare himself in communion with the church of Rome, upon which the parliament granted him new [taxes], and confirmed the subsidies of excise and custom, by which he raised an army to suppress a rebellion against him by the Duke of Monmouth, which was soon effected, and the duke taken and beheaded. But he [the king] continued his army, and soon after put out a proclamation for liberty of conscience to all protestant dissenters, and also to papists, to the free and open exercise of their religion, which was graciously

accepted by all dissenting protestants, who had been great sufferers in his brother's reign; and many who had been long prisoners were released. But this very much offended the bishops and clergy, who soon perceived that all this pretended liberty was only intended to introduce a papist government, which soon was evident, for the king made papists lord-lieutenants and deputy-lieutenants, and justices of peace, judges, and presidents of colleges; and also presbyterians, aldermen and mayors of corporations, and councilmen. Even the quakers were encouraged to undertake to be justices of peace, and magistrates in corporations; but generally declined. John Greenwood was elected mayor of Lancaster, and the mace was carried before him, with inferior officers attending him, to the presbyterian place of worship. And none permitted [promoted?] to any place of profit or trust, till they would promise, upon an election for members of parliament, to vote for such as would be for the repeal of the penal laws and test acts; but it was evident that the repeal of the test act was most in view. These proceedings caused most of the ancient nobility and gentlemen who were zealous against popery [to retire] from the court to their country seats; and four or five of the bishops were committed to the Tower for not complying that the king's dispensing power should be published by the clergy in their churches.

And upon the 10th day of the 4th month this year, it was published that the queen was delivered of a son, which was published Prince of Wales, and consequently to be successor to the crown, if living at the king's death. But as the Princess of Orange and Princess Anne of Denmark were not at the birth, and others who ought to have been, upon the birth of an heir to the crown, it was suggested that he was not born of the queen, but was an impostor; and many pamphlets were published to prove the same, but never proved by any authority appointed thereon.

However, application was made to the Prince of Orange and his princess, by the ancient nobility and principal commoners,—who were zealous against popery, for them to interpose for their legal succession and preservation of the protestant religion,—to come over, to endeavour to have all the king's proceedings examined, and the laws and constitutions practised; which was done privately, but was so effectual that the Prince of Orange, with the advice and countenance of the states of Holland, raised an army of about 10,000 foot and 4,000 horse, shipped in 200 transports, and convoyed by about 30 ships of war, in which were many English fugitives, and discontented; and, after some dis-appointment, got a fair wind for England, and came to Torbay, in

Devonshire. King James's fleet being then in the Thames, not knowing but the Dutch might come to Hull, were wind-bound in the Thames, whilst the Prince of Orange had landed his army near Exeter, and [was] upon his march towards London. In the meantime, King James had drawn what forces he could spare out of Scotland and Ireland, which, with his army, then encamped at Hounsley Heath, marched into Dorsetshire Downs, expecting to engage the Prince of Orange and his army. But upon his coming there, Prince George of Denmark and many of King James's generals and officers went over to the Prince of Orange with most of their men; which brake King James's army. The Prince of Orange at the same time put out a proclamation that he did not come to conquer or subdue the nation, but in order to have an impartial and free parliament, with a real establishment of the king and kingdom in the protestant religion; which, King James not according with, and having sent the queen and infant before, he retired to France, relying upon the King of France to restore him to his dominions, by virtue of a secret league, supposed to be formerly entered [into] betwixt them. Upon which the Prince of Orange marched up near London, and, as King James had abdicated the government and left the kingdom, the principal lords and commons requested the Prince of Orange to undertake the government till a convention of the estates might meet; which he accepted of, and undertook to general satisfaction; and the convention met in the 11th month, and then constituted [themselves] to be a parliament, and, after some debates, the Prince and Princess of Orange were declared and proclaimed King and Queen of England, by the name of William the Third and Mary the Second, King and Queen of England, Scotland, &c., upon the 13th day of the 12th month, 1688; and the king soon after went over to Holland, and at the Hauge [Hague] entered into an alliance with the Emperor of Germany, King of Spain, Duke of Savoy, and States of the United Netherlands, jointly to carry on a war against the King of France, who was then supposed to be aiming or aspiring to the supreme monarchy of Europe, especially if he could re-establish King James in his dominions.

1689.—And early this spring, the French sent some forces to Ireland, to join King James's army there, which kept that nation for him, and they were landed at Bantry Bay; but as the transports and ships of war that brought them were returning they met with some English ships of war, who fought them and took and disabled some of them,—and this was the beginning of the war, which was soon after proclaimed in England, France, and our allies aforesaid. And imme-

diately after, the sea was overspread with the French privateers and ships of war, which quite put a stop to the commerce by sea betwixt London and this county, as also all commerce with France, and a prohibition of all their products and manufactures.

Before this war with France, it was computed that we paid to that nation at least one million of money sterling, for their fashions, products, and manufactures, over and above what they took from us of our products and manufactures; and although it was accident, during the first year of this war they took from us at least 500 of our ships, which were computed at half a million in value more than we took of their ships, which losses were great to particular persons or merchants; yet the nation got or saved yearly one million of money, this year, to carry on the war with France, by being prohibited trade with them, and [this] put us upon the silk, linen, paper, and many other of the manufactures, to the enriching this nation and particularly in the south of this county, in making canvas in imitation, and as good as their Normandy canvas and Brittany linen. As to wine and salt, we now had them from Portugal and Spain, who took from us the double value in goods of what we had from them. Also at this time the salt rock was found in Cheshire, from the brine of which they formerly made fine salt; but now they digged out the rock, and carried it by sea to all parts of England and Ireland, and melted it in sea water, and boiled it up into a strong salt, as good French [and] Spanish salt. Also abundance of stills were set up for extracting good and strong spirits from malt, molasses, fruit, and other materials, instead of French brandy. Some thousand tons of prunes used to be brought yearly from France to England, and commonly sold 3lb. for 4d.; and now not to be had at 40s. a cwt., which now turned to the butchers' profit. Resin from France usually sold for 10s. a cwt., now advanced to 6d. or 8d. a lb., till got from New England, where it was in few years extracted in as great plenty, as cheap and fine as French.

We had now no carriage from London but by land, and the cheese of Cheshire and Lancashire, which used to employ at least twenty ships yearly, to carry cheese from Liverpool and Chester to London, were now no more employed, but all the cheese sent by waggon to London, and for back carriage brought groceries and other merchandise into the country; by whom we got our goods to Standish, at the rate of 3s. to 5s. a cwt. in summer; they choosing to bring them thither, in order to carry coals or cannel back into Cheshire; and we usually gave 1s. 6d. a cwt. bringing them from Standish to Lancaster; but all our goods from 20s. a cwt. and under we got them elsewhere; iron from the Bloomeries

in Cartmel and Furnas, there being then no furnaces erected for refining it: and what Swede iron we got, it was from York or Leeds, by land.

Tobacco we had always one or more ships yearly hither from Virginia, importing it, where we had opportunity to buy small bundles of the sailors, at moderate prices; but at the beginning of the war it was high, most ships being taken. Our neighbour John Hodgson sent a ship with a cargo, about £200. value, which purchased about 200 hogsheads, got well home, by which he gained at least £1,500.; tobacco being then near 12d. a lb.; and in Virginia then, 20s. worth of English goods here would purchase one hogshead of good tobacco there. It was then permitted to be imported in bulk or small parcels, to stow close. The said John Hodgson had then and some years before, a sugar house in Lancaster for refining sugar, which supplied us with refined sugar and molasses; but as no natural sugar was then imported here [Lancaster], he got his from Bristol or Liverpool, from whence we got ours. There were then copperas works erected at Liverpool, to supply this country, and alum works in Yorkshire, and many other manufactories, to answer what we formerly had from London and foreign parts, to the ease and benefit of this country.

It being now a year since I began trade, I inspected my books to know how I might pay what was owing, to clear accounts yearly as I ought to do; but found that I had been too forward in trusting, and too backward in calling, as is too frequent with young tradesmen. I found I should have occasion to hire some money at interest, and thereupon borrowed of John Johnson £40. upon bond, for which my brother Josias and cousin Wm. Caton were bound with me, and which I kept till the said John Johnson died. The bond dated May 1, 1689, and in that month I went to Sheffield and bought goods to the amount of £30. I went the beginning of the week, to be there on their market day, the third day of the week. On that and next day dispatched my business and got home on fifth and sixth days, to be at our market; being always six days out upon that journey, my sister Elin duly attending my shop in my absence. At my entering on trade I was the fifth in the iron-monger trade, viz., my master (Henry Coward), Robert Carter, John Marshall, and Benjamin Borrow, and myself. Upon casting up my shop, in the third month of this year, I found that I had sold goods for ready money about £450., and upon credit about £150. And, with the value of goods in the shop and cellar, I computed that I had gained this year about £50., besides shop rent and boarding.

Having no apprentice, and trade increasing, I was much confined

and employed in keeping accounts and making up goods ready for the market. And in spring got up as [soon as] it was day, and in summer at sunrise, and took a walk a mile out of town by myself, each day in the week, if fair, sundry ways, and returned in time to open the shop. And in the evenings, after nine, took a walk upon the Green Area alone, if fair; otherwise, when out of business, passed my time in reading religious books or history, geography, surveying, or other mathematical sciences.

About this time, this corporation had a contest with Liverpool about the toll of goods we had from them; our town alleging that their charter exempted them from passage-toll [passagium] all over this nation and Ireland; but for refusing it, our goods were taken and kept. But as I was no freeman of Lancaster, nor could be admitted without an oath, I released my goods; but my neighbours, who were freemen, commenced an action against the persons who seized their goods, at their own and the corporation's charge, which was defended by the corporation of Liverpool, and some hundred pounds spent on each side without being determined. Our town, being tired with the suit, let it drop; upon which Liverpool vaunted that whetherever [whoever] had the better cause, they had the better purse, and thereupon seized the goods of the London cheesemongers for toll, who contested it with them at law, and cleared themselves from toll there; upon which it was told the Liverpool people that the cheesemongers at London had a better purse, if not the better cause.

1690.—I was boarded at Alderman Thomas Baynes's house two years, at the rate of £5. a-year, and then, he being disappointed of a house-keeper, upon the 5th day of the third month this year, I removed to be boarded with Richard Sterzaker, a butcher, very near my shop, at the same price, with several others; and very good entertainment, to our good liking and satisfaction. And at the same time I inspected my circumstances, in order to settle the balance accounts with my creditors once a-year, as was necessary, and to get in what money I could without borrowing, intending to go to London; which I did as fully as I expected. I bought a horse, and about the middle of the third month set forward accompanied by John Bryer, and several neighbours, tradesmen, Christopher Proctor, John Powel, Robert Parkinson, and several others,—eight or ten in company. At Preston, I was doubtful my horse would not perform the journey, which very much discouraged me; but, being encouraged by the company, went forward, and thereupon had better hopes; and at Dunchurch, my neighbour Bryer, having occasion to stay, gave me the charge of his money, which, with

my own, amounted at least to £100., and most in silver, gold then being scarce, and silver money beginning to be much impaired by clipping and counterfeiting, especially the standard money, coined before the restoration of King Charles II. Most payments were made in that money, upon which at that time people were obliged to have saddle bags to carry it behind them, which I then had, and we having occasion to call at Cony, some persons observing us who we doubted were not honest, gave us some fear of robbery, and after a few miles they overpassed us, swearing "There's a troop of these men;" and about the same time we met at least 100 pack horses in a suspicious place, which prevented them stopping us there, so got well to Barnet, where many travellers stopped, being told that robbers were upon the road; but seeing us come up and determined to go forward, they joined, so that we were about twenty in company, and betwixt that and Finchley Common we met with abundance of waggons and carriages of King William's, who was then going towards Ireland, to head his army there, [which] prevented any attempt upon us, and although they [the suspected persons] passed us several times, they at last rode off to the west of Finchley Common, and we got safe to Highgate, and so to London, although late; having travelled 50 miles that day, from Passiter to London. But we after understood that the next day they made a great robbery, about the same place, of all that came by, taking them out of the road to a private place, till they had finished their robbery. At my coming to Sheffield, my landlord, Joseph Downes, told me that he was one that was then robbed, as he was returning from London.

This being Whit Sunday, so-called, at which time yearly and every year my friends called Quakers have a general meeting of representatives from all parts of our king's dominions, where any of them have meetings, where accounts are brought of their sufferings for tithes, and for refusing an oath in several courts, and other testimonies, and the necessities of the sufferers, and the relief of the poor, and many other occurrences incident among them respecting to good order and a truly Christian deportment in life and conversation;—which meeting continued some days, and was much to my information and satisfaction and observation of condescension and piety.

And after the said meeting was over, I had time to settle my accounts with all I dealt with, and bought and ordered what goods I had occasion for, and ordered most of them by waggon carriage to Standish, at 3s. 6d. or 4s. a cwt. There were some shipping and convoys appointed, but they were tedious; one perhaps to Portsmouth, another from thence to

Plymouth, and another about the land to Bristol or Dublin, which often was six months, and hazard from Dublin; for the French privateers cruised off Holyhead and the Isle of Man; and this tediousness did wholly discourage the sending cheese by sea, which would all be spoiled in long passage, or many other goods, besides the loss of time and a market; the land carriage being quick, if dear.

Having dispatched my business in London in a week, I came back the Yorkshire road, with my neighbour John Bryer, to Leeds, and I to Sheffield with what money I had to spare at London, and bought what goods I had occasion for, and got home at that week end, finding all well, and that my sister, under whose care I left my trade, had been diligent, and had taken near £20. for goods in my three weeks' absence. My expenses in my former and this journey to London were very near £3. each.

In the 8th month this year I took to apprentice John Troughton, son of Dorothy Troughton, of Overton, for seven years, with whom I had £20., the same sum which my master had with me; I to find him maintenance and his mother clothes all the term, his father, Robert Troughton, being dead a few years before; who was a very substantial and discreet man, and left three sons and one daughter. This boy had been well learned, especially in writing and arithmetic, and active in his business. His mother was a discreet and good manager of her estate and affairs. My apprentice, John Troughton, was boarded with me at Richard Sterzaker's, this year, and lodged with me in the shop, as aforesaid; so that I had now more time to divert myself, which was mostly in walking, often by myself and sometimes with Richard Green, son of Thomas Green, who was then a sober and hopeful young man; but afterwards fell into loose and disorderly company, to his ruin.

This year, John Marshall, my neighbour, gave up his trade as an ironmonger, and went to dwell near Cartmel, on a good estate his father left him, as also a lease of iron ore in Furnas, by which he improved himself to an estate above £300. a year, by his frugality and industry. At his giving over, I took most of his shop goods, and which gave an addition to my trade. Before I came apprentice, my master, Henry Coward, had a shop at Cockerham, which was attended by his then apprentice, John Lawson, and when his time was out [he] bought the said shop, but did not manage it to profit, through his misconduct, but about this time broke, in a crazed condition, upon which I bought a good part of his goods, and he never recovered his credit or right capacity. In this year, Benjamin Borrow, who had been apprentice to Robert Carter, and had been for himself about three years, by his extravagant

living and carelessness in his business, became insolvent and broke. Most part of his goods I bought. He was son of Edward Borrow, of Fowle Stone, in Westmoreland, and his wife, Margaret, daughter of Thomas Green, of Lancaster. They had a daughter. He went into Westmoreland, among his relations, lived an idle life there a few years, and died there. Her father took her and the child and maintained them till she died, a little before her father, who made some small provision for her daughter. About the same time, the above Robert Carter, by reason of his neglect of his business and expensive living, overran his credit, and was forced to give over his trade; but by the favour of his creditors had his liberty, and got to be land-waiter in the custom-house. He also married Ann Heysam, sister of Robert and — Heysam, and after they got into parliament, got him to be receiver of the land and other taxes, and other beneficial employs, by which he might have got an estate, yet died poor. He had one daughter, married to Foster Cunliffe, with whom her uncles Heysam gave £1,000. portion. So that now there was no more than my master, Henry Coward, and myself, left ironmongers in Lancaster.

1690 and 1691.—About this time a very vexatious and litigious difference and contest happened in this town, the original of which happened as follows:—In the reign of James II., the Lord Brandon Gerrard endeavoured to be elected knight for this country in parliament; and his father, being then retired into Holland, where the Duke of Monmouth then was, he was then supposed to be in his interest, and was opposed by all King James's interest, and so could not obtain his election; and thereupon endeavoured to be elected for this borough, and had the interest of most of the common freemen, but [was] strongly opposed by the mayor and council and the country gentlemen, who, to prevent his election, brought in freemen the country gentlemen's servants and attendants, six for one shilling,—who were thereafter called "twopenny freemen." They had also two companies of the militia, trained soldiers, under arms, to awe the freemen to vote against him; all which was a great grief to the ancient freemen and all sober people—that the ancient privileges and constitutions of the borough should be so prostituted, by which his said election was frustrated, there being at least 100 of these twopenny freemen sworn on this occasion. This proceeding raised quarrels between the governing party and the common freemen, and particularly betwixt the drapers and hatters. One John Powell, a hatter, a litigious man, of the presbyterian religion, very much envied the drapers for their selling hats, as not belonging to their trade; and they as much envying him for meddling with them in such, and imper-

tinence, and particularly for his pretended sanctity in religion. But after the revolution, that King William came to reign, and the Lord Brandon's father died, he became Earl of Macclesfield, and of the privy council, and a great station in the ministry of state affairs; and his brother Fitton Gerrard, knight in parliament for this county,—the common freemen here, who thought themselves injured as aforesaid, engaged the aforesaid John Powell to go to London, to apply to the Earl of Macclesfield and his brother, in order to obtain a charter, to incorporate the common manufacturers, butchers, &c., into companies, exclusive from the present charter of the present governing charter [party?];—which the earl and his brother, considering their former usage here, espoused and solicited; and the mayor and council here, with the assistance of our then members of parliament, opposed at great expense for some years. But at length they got a charter, and put it in execution here, whereby they would not permit any to follow a trade or manufacture, or butcher, or gardener, in the town or within three miles, except they obtained the freedom of some of their companies; and such as would not comply were sued in fictitious names and put to great costs, and the ordinary tradesmen were grown so insolent and idle, that, like the dog in the manger, they would neither work themselves nor suffer others to work; by which many of them came to poverty and ruin of their families. The said company continued to be vexatious many years. They had Charles Rigby for their lawyer and Thomas Shearson for their clerk or attorney, and many hundred if not £1,000. [were] spent in contests. It cost me some money in the opposition, and [I] left off some small branches of trade then counted with them; but in time several of them came to see it did not effect what they proposed, or were tired, and others came to poverty, and they let it drop, so as to have no court or assembly about it.

1691.—In the beginning of this year, my trade increasing and shop too little, I had thoughts of adding my bedroom to the shop, and also of housekeeping, which I imparted to my mother and sister Elin, who had come hitherto every market day, or as often as I had occasion, to assist me. Upon which, with our mother's consent, she freely offered to come and be my housekeeper; and, there being a part of John Hodgson's great house, over against my shop, to let,—the street part was and had been tenanted by the master of a shop in the Virginia trade—(who had only a wife and child and maid servant, and were very neighbourly to me, permitting me to set my boxes of candy and confectionery goods by their fire, which I could not so safely do in a public-house, where I boarded),—John Bryer and I took the rest. He had

the kitchen part with the rooms over it entirely to himself. I had the great parlour, cellar under it, and three bedrooms above; but the stairs to them were common with them who inhabited the street part, which I then thought might not be any disturbance to either of us. The brewhouse was common to us all. The street part was £5. a-year; mine and John Bryer's each 50s. a-year.

My mother, brothers, and sister had hitherto dwelt together in much unity and industry, and had improved themselves and their estate. My brother Leonard, by the assistance of his brother Josias, had about this time built a very good dwelling-house and barn, and other conveniences at Hatlex; and my mother, with what was left to her and her children, and the money devised by our father to the two youngest children, who died,—she purchased about ten acres of land from Samuel Hulton, of Poulton [-le-Sands], which laid betwixt my brother Josias's estate at Sandside, and my brother Leonard's at Hatlex, which cost her about £200.; half of which she gave to her son Josias, and the other half to Leonard, chargeable with the payment of £100. to her or her disposal, by her will or otherwise; £60. of which she gave to her daughter Elin, and the £40. was some years after ordered to be paid to me by my brother Leonard. And my mother, then 60 years of age, continued to keep my said brother's house, with much industry and care; seeing my brother Josias did not seem willing to marry, which my mother was desirous he would.

In the beginning of the third month this year my sister came, and we began to keep house in the house taken as aforesaid, and my sister being before familiarly acquainted with the other tenants, was well satisfied with them, and especially them on the street side, who gave her all the encouragement and assistance she could expect, and continued to increase to her and me; so that I thought we were happily seated. But in some time the familiarity increased so much, that I feared it extended above what it was safe in innocency to allow, which upon several occasions and opportunities and freedoms was plainly demonstrated to me, that at length I was very sensible that my neighbour to the street side, whose lodgings with mine were in common up one pair of stairs, took all opportunities, in conversation and other insinuations, to allure me to her bed, or to introduce herself into mine, which became a great concern to me to avoid the temptation and to keep a good neighbourhood; and my prayer to God was to be preserved innocent, and especially in that prayer of Jesus Christ, viz., "and lead us not into temptation;" which is more properly to be understood—"nor suffer us to be tempted more than thou givest us power to resist." For

as it is recorded, James i. 13—"Let no man say when he is tempted, I am tempted of God: for God cannot be tempted with evil, neither tempteth he any man: But every man is tempted when he is drawn away of his own lusts and enticed. Then, when lust hath conceived, it bringeth forth sin: and sin, when it is finished, bringeth forth death." I was then 26 years of age, and she about 30, which is about the age that such temptations work strongly. When I was an apprentice I had too often an opportunity to observe the conversation of some persons, who were of no good repute, frequenting our shop, and my master frequenting their houses, which then I detested with scorn, which they observed. But now, when the above temptation fell in my way, it affected me with sorrow, and often [I made] prayer in secret that I might be preserved, or, if overcome, that the hand of the Lord [should] come upon me in some singular judgment, to the terror of others. And I was very sensible that it was the immediate power and grace of God that preserved me, and afterwards brought me to godly care in my conversation, both in public and in private, with such persons as I was assistant to in managing their concerns, as widows and fatherless, not to express myself, nor to entertain any expressions or deportment which might tend to levity, or to beget any thoughts of incontinency. And I could never countenance what's too common with not only youth, but also married men and women with each other, to entertain each other in a bantering way, in such terms as could only tend to beget evil thoughts and excite to lewdness; and many who take that liberty are reputed chaste and good Christians, although inconsistent with true Christianity. I being preserved, as aforesaid, from any knowledge of my said neighbour, further than by face and conversation, we continued neighbours about two or three years, without showing any discontent to the neighbourhood, and although she was reputed in the neighbourhood a modest and religious woman, in the society of the Episcopal Church of England, yet upon observing her freedom in discourse, and the entertainment of some young men in her house, it was suspected of her incontinency with them. She declined in health some [time] gradually; seeming in great discontent, which, as was commonly reported, was upon the long absence of her husband, and she died when he was abroad in America; who, at his arrival, gave up the house and also his employment, and with his son, his only child, retired to his native place, having acquired an estate sufficient to maintain them without other employment. In considering the precepts and warnings recorded in the Holy Scriptures, and particularly in Proverbs vi., from verse 24 to 29, it is cause of lamentation to observe the failings of Solomon, and several other wise

men recorded in the Scriptures, their failing in this respect. And it is to be observed in our time, as also of men, both married and unmarried, who hunt about to debauch both other men's wives and unmarried women, to the deflowering them and corrupting families; and this is mostly the consequence of excessive eating and drinking of both men and women, and want of lawful exercise. As the Apostle exhorts, Thessalonians, v. 22—"Abstain from all the appearance of evil." As the light of nature guides us to abstain from anything that may be hurtful to our body, or health, or welfare, so God has placed in our souls a spiritual light, to discern what is our duty to do, or to abstain from; which, duly observed in small things, will more and more shine, as it is obeyed, to the leading of us to our obedience to what is our duty to do or suffer for His name. A measure of this light is placed in the souls of all men, even in the most wicked, although oppressed; and in the height of their wickedness [it] testifies against them in their consciences, to their condemnation; and the same cannot be extinguished, but remains as a witness against them.

1691 and 1692.—My sister having now undertaken to be my house-keeper, she did it without a servant, but got one to wash and dress the house once a week, and to brew upon occasion. She was diligent to assist in the shop upon the market day, and to overlook and assist the apprentice in my absence, which was not very often, except walking into the fields, or by the river side, in the morning and evening, in the summer; but in the winter evenings, I mostly continued in the shop till nine, either reading, writing, or walking, and seldom sat by the fire, which I had not been accustomed to, nor thought it proper for my health.

My next door neighbour, Augustin Greenwood, a merchant and wholesale grocer, was my good customer in the ironmonger way, and an encourager in the rest of my trade. He was part owner and freighter of ships to Virginia, and often had tobacco consigned to him, which he let me have at the market price on board, I to enter and pay duty for it, which was a great benefit to me, having by this time ready money to pay the duty, which fared near 1d. in the pound, and also got good allowance for damage; for if but 11lb. appeared [damaged] we got 10lb. allowed; or if 10lb. appeared, we got 40lb.; and so in proportion. Also, it being customary that the merchants shall have the refusal of the sailors' portages in the ships they employ, he frequently gave me liberty to buy, by which I got the advantages aforesaid, by paying ready money; tobacco being at that time at least one-fourth part of what I sold in a year, and mostly in roll, which by liquoring, increased it in weight,

in very good, near one penny in the pound. Hitherto tobacco was permitted to be imported in hogsheads, bundles, or loose; and then in a ship which would stow two hundred hogsheads, they could stow 50 hogsheads in quantity in bundles or loose, the hogshead then weighing not more than four cwt. net. But when ships from Virginia hither missed or miscarried, which often happened, we were obliged to go to Liverpool for tobacco, which we mostly bought there loose or in bulk, and packed it in bags of about two cwt., at a somewhat cheaper rate. We mostly went thither twice a year to buy tobacco and sugar, which at that time was partly imported loose and in bulk, like salt, for want of hogsheads, which were not then to be had in the plantations under 25s. or 30s. a-piece. And although at that time the ships taken by the French seemed to be a great loss to this nation, yet the great loss was to the inhabitants of our plantations, who sold their sugars and tobacco at half price, and paid £3. a barrel for their beef and other necessaries proportionally, which much reduced them. But on the contrary the merchants here bought provisions and our manufactures low, and not above half the value of a cargo as in times of peace, and had their returns at a low price, but sold them here at a double price; so that it was computed that if a merchant here made an adventure in three ships, if but one came in safe he was no loser, and if two came safe a good gainer, and if all much more; and in the main it could not be computed that above one in five miscarried. For by this time there were convoys appointed to most parts, and ships went in fleets together, and it was observable that the quantity of burthen of shipping rather increased at Liverpool, and the town increased in buildings and merchants during all the wars in King William's reign.

I went to Sheffield in the 1st month of 1691-2 to settle accounts with Obadiah Barlow, who I employed to buy goods for me in my absence, and also then bought some packs of the makers of the goods. I also went to Preston fair, principally to buy cheese; the market for cheese then being mostly at Garstang and Preston fairs, which afterward came to Lancaster, mostly at Michaelmas fair. At this time we sold much cheese to funerals in the country, from 30lb. to 100lb. weight, as the deceased was of ability; which was shived into two or three [slices or pieces] in the lb., and one with a penny manchet [loaf] given to all the attendants. And then it was customary, at Lancaster, to give one or two long, called Naples, biscuits, to each attending the funeral; by which from 20lb. to near 100lb. was given, according to the deceased's ability; I think they were near 1s. a lb.

In 1692 died John Foster, a draper and mercer by trade, but had

been collector of the customs at this port. He was a haughty man, and lived great, and was highly treated by the merchants, particularly by John Hodgson; and at that time they had the direction of the affairs of this borough. The customs, in his time, were slightly inspected, and many great frauds committed; but mostly spent with extravagant living. He was also at great charges in entertaining his brother, Thomas Foster, who had no children, and had lately purchased Beamond Hall estate, and the locks; and expecting to be his heir. At his death his estate and effects were in perplexed circumstances, which so discomposed his widow, who had been used to live great, that she was never after capable of management; and had many children to provide for. Their aforesaid uncle took the eldest son Thomas, and made him his heir; most of the other died young.

1693.—The beginning of the third month this year I took a journey to London, along with my neighbours, Thomas Green, Augustin Greenwood, John Bryer, and three or four other neighbours, and all well till we came to Coventry, where I was seized with great pain in my limbs, so as scarce to get on or off horseback, or go up or down stairs; but was encouraged by the company to endeavour forwards, which I did with much pain to St. Alban's, where I got some ale with bread and sugar boiled, and ate or drunk it very hot, which much revived me, so that I had a good appetite to my supper, and a good night's rest, and got to London next morning with all our company in good health, praised be God. And in a week's time we settled our accounts, and bought what goods we had occasion for in trade, and ordered most of them by land carriage in carts and waggons to Standish, at about 4s. a hundred weight, and ordered the heaviest and low priced by sea, there being now convoys appointed, but long a-coming, and damage by rats, who ate out the corks in liquor and oil casks, with the loss of some whole casks of oil and vinegar.

I laid out about 40s. in Samuel Fisher, Francis Hougill, and other friends' books and earthenware, and other household goods, which I paid for in silver money, which at this time was much diminished by clipping; so that where I was a stranger they inquired where I came from, and whether we had such large money, and not diminished in our country. The old money, which was coined before the restoration of King Charles II., was called "hammered money," which had the king's reign and year of coinage, &c., stamped in a ring on each side on the outward, but in much of that money the ring was cut away, which at least was one-third of the weight of the 6d., 1s., or half or whole crown, it was cut from. This was taken notice of by the government as a

growing evil, [which], if not remedied, would be more fatal than a war with France; and to prevent the further diminishing our coin it was enacted that where any person received any hammered money not diminished, they should punch a hole in the centre of it, and if that piece afterwards was offered in payment, the person offering it was to be deemed and prosecuted as the diminisher. Notwithstanding this, not much of this holed money appeared; but the large money was either concealed or melted down, and little but diminished money appeared. And as to the money coined after the restoration of King Charles II., called "milled money," which was lettered on the edge, there was scarce any of it to be seen, and [it was] supposed to be melted down, or counterfeited into the old coin, clipped. There was at that time very little silver coined, and what was coined was hoarded; but abundance of gold was coined into guineas, which most payments were made in about this time.

After having finished our business at London we returned together to Stoney Stratford, and then I, with Augustin Greenwood and John Bryer, parted with the company, and took the road to Northampton, Leicester, and Nottingham, to Sheffield; where we stayed two nights, in which time I settled my accounts there, and bought and ordered what goods I had occasion [for], and left money in my landlord Jos. Downe's hands to pay for them. The motive of my neighbour Greenwood coming this way, was to get acquaintance with the sellers of tobacco which he imported, and then sold some upon trial. We came forward by Manchester, and called [at] Edward Valentine's, near Manchester, whose wife was Augustin Greenwood's sister, and stayed all night, and got well home the next day, and found all in good order.

1694.—In this year William Cornish, who succeeded John Foster as collector of the customs, came to dwell in the street part of the house where I dwelt as aforesaid, after the death of the wife, and giving up house by her husband. William Cornish was bred up a tradesman in London, an apothecary; but not [being] successful in trade, got this employ. Upon taking the house he sent for his wife from London, and they became very agreeable neighbours, although their and our upper rooms were all up one pair of stairs. They were both of the presbyterian profession of religion, and very observant therein; and he managed his charge impartially and obligingly to all, but was much envied by the papists and jacobite party; partly upon the account of his religion, and that he could not comply with their former indirect and illegal practices in the custom; and they sought all opportunities to find occasion to accuse him of any defect in the management of his office; which made

him very uneasy, and often petitioned the commissioners of the customs to be removed; which, after about seven years' service here, he obtained, and was removed to be collector of the customs at Bridgewater, in Somersetshire, about 10 miles distant from Bruton, in that county, the place of his birth and estate.

The diminishing of our old silver coin increased, and made great confusion in trade; people being cautious in setting a price on their goods, without knowing in what money they would be paid. And, although taxes were multiplied on account of the war, yet it was feared the distraction about the coin would be more fatal than the war with France, and the King of France fully expected the same would bring us into confusion.

John Johnson, who some years since lent me £40. upon bond, but not without my brother and cousin William Gatton being bound with me, was seized with a violent fever in the 11th month this year; being then about 40 years of age. He sent for me, and told me he thought it necessary to make his will, and desired me to undertake the execution of it, and to name such a person as I thought fit to assist me in it. Several were named, but Thos. Medcalfe, alderman and draper, whom he farmed his malt kiln of, was resolved upon, and the will drawn and executed. But then we had hopes of his recovery; but he relapsed, and died that month. He was born near Warrington, and was sent by Esquire Blackburne to manage a malt kiln at Poulton in the Fylde, where he dwelt some years, and married his first wife there, and about ten years since came to Lancaster, and farmed the kiln aforesaid, and was the first that dried malt here with pit-coal cinders,—all which before was dried with turf and peat fires, but since then wholly dried with cinders. He had a son and daughter by his first wife, who was a papist; and not a year before he died, he married a second wife, a zealous presbyterian, although himself was wholly conformable to the Episcopal Church of England. At his death, we took upon us the administration, but did not prove the will till about six months after his death, at what time his widow was delivered of a son named John; and then we took the tuition of the former wife's children, and also of her's by her consent and request. His inventory was high £500., viz., about £250. in ready money and bonds, and the like sum in malt and money owing for the same, and he owed very little. He left his personal estate equally to his three children, and his dwelling house to his eldest son; to his wife £10. in money, and £5. a-year during her life; and her thirds of the house-rent was about 20s. a-year. We were industrious to dispose of his stock in trade, and place the product of it at interest.

We took the two children by the first wife from their stepmother, and boarded them out, and kept them to the school,—Edward to Latin, writing, and arithmetic till he was about 15 years of age, and then designed him for some trade ; but he inclined to nothing but to sea, and was put apprentice in the ship Employment in 9th month, 1699 ; went two voyages to Barbadoes, and one to Norway ; but upon his third voyage to Barbadoes in 1702, he was seized with a fever, which in ten days he died of, April 12, 1702, outward bound, about half-way to Barbadoes ; and was buried in the sea, and did not mention anything as to his effects. The house descended to his sister, as having had both one mother ; and the personal effects equally betwixt her and her brother John. His mother, Ellen Johnson, married again in 1700 to James Hull, a skinner near Poulton ; with whom she had little comfort or satisfaction. We let her take her son John with her, upon terms agreed upon amongst us. Margaret Johnson continued with her mother till she removed out of the town and was married. Her mother took her to the presbyterians' worship. She was a good reader, and could repeat whole chapters in the New Testament off book. After her mother's marriage she was with me about two years, and was kept to school to write, sew, knit, and other necessary employ, till about a year after her brother's death, when she was about 16 years of age ; and then was desirous to go and see her father's mother, an ancient woman, and her daughters, poor people, near Warrington ; which was granted, and decently fitted out and sent from hence. Her aunts had been nurses to Charles Owen, a noted presbyterian preacher in Warrington, into whose acquaintance they introduced her ; who, upon inquiry or information that she was under my tuition, a Quaker, expressed himself with much pretended surprise that any Christian should leave his child under the tuition of a Quaker ; and soon after she writ to me that I might not expect her return, and that she had chosen Mr. Owen for her tutor. Which expression of his, and her slighting my care for her, gave me some trouble ; and, having some business at Liverpool, I went from thence to Warrington, and had an opportunity with the said Owen, and before several persons of good repute reproved him for his uncharitable reflection against the Quakers in general and me in particular, before he knew any occasion, and for which he was reproved of all my neighbours of his religious persuasion. But, as it is customary with priests and preachers of all professions, not to confess themselves in an error, he persisted in what he had done, and expected to have the management of her effects ; which we refused, but only to allow the yearly profits of the same, which was about £15. a-year, for her maintenance. But he

employed a lawyer to compel us to more, which we slighted. But he entertained her as a gentlewoman, and got her a fiddle, and learned her to play and dance. She remained with him till she attained to 21 years of age, and then we accounted with her and paid her what was due. The said Owen got a good part more than we allowed for education, and got her a husband, Peter Heys, an indolent man, a joiner, who had built some houses at the utmost N.W. end of Liverpool, the year before the dock was made, upon which the north end was of no value, by which, and his indolence, they became poor. They continued married four years, when he became consumptive and died, and left her four or five small children; upon which she was forced to industry to maintain them, to the discredit of the aforesaid tutor.

John Johnson was nursed by his mother and brought up with her, till she removed from Lancaster and married as aforesaid, and went with her in 1700 to Poulton, and remained with her till November 1710, when he was 15 years of age. He had been educated in school learning as well as the place could afford. After his mother's death, he came to Lancaster, was boarded with William Marshall, and was much improved in learning by Thomas Holms, the schoolmaster here, till he was 17 years of age; and in pursuance of his mother's desire that he should be educated for the ministry to the Presbyterians, it was her friend's desire that he might be put under the tuition of John Hardy, an eminent preacher and master of that communion, who dwelt near Nottingham; and in compliance of their request he was sent and put under their tuition, and money advanced sufficient for his boarding, clothes, and education; where he remained till 1716, when he came to 21 years of age, at which time he came to Lancaster, and received what was due to him in my hands, which was about £280., and gave me a full discharge, and acknowledged much gratitude to me for my care of his effects and his education. His first charge he undertook in the ministry was at Falkingham, in Lincolnshire, to a congregation of the Presbyterians, and after some time he became a tutor or chaplain to the Lord St. John family, of Belshaw, near Peterborough, in Northamptonshire, and after a year or two stay there he went to London for further preferment, which not offering to his expectation, he applied to the episcopal clergy, and put on the habit and officiated in the same to their satisfaction; he being of a sociable and affable disposition, and was acceptable to young gentlemen; who first promoted him to be chaplain to a regiment of foot soldiers, and afterwards got to be library keeper under the Archbishop of Canterbury, and other benefits to the value of £200. or £300. a-year, and became kind and bountiful to his sister Margaret aforesaid, upon

her being in necessity, and also to Ann Tinkler, his half-sister, which his mother had by a former husband, who had also an unfortunate marriage, and [was] reduced to necessity. I had some letters and tokens from him since his preferment, in grateful remembrance of my care for him. I have not heard that he is married at the writing hereof (in the 11th month, 1741) when he was in the 46th year of his age. Also I perceive that his tutor, Hardy, about the same time conformed to the episcopal church of England, and accepted of a beneficial place or parish therein.

1695.—The old silver coin of this nation continued to be more and more diminished, which made great distraction in trade, and although the king encouraged the collectors of his revenue to take all pieces of the old silver coin in payment, that were not impaired within the inward ring, yet people did not look upon that as a warrant in payment to each other, and as there was not then any milled money, guineas began to advance in value in payment here [Lancaster] to 22s. or 23s. a piece, and all goods in the market advanced accordingly; and in the third month this year, I being determined to go to London, got what money I could exchanged for guineas or other gold coin. And in the beginning of this month I set forward for London, accompanied by Richard Greene and his sister Elin, William Godsalve, and Sarah Snow. We went by Manchester and Sheffield, where we stayed two nights, whilst I had time to settle my accounts there, and buy and order what goods I had occasion for, and left money with Thomas Ward to pay for them, and then set forward to London by way of Nottingham, Northampton, and Newport Pannell, and got safe there; and first set Sarah Snow to her father's house, and then *innd* at the Swan in Lad Lane, where we had hitherto always lodged. At our coming to London we found the old silver coin much more diminished and counterfeited than in the country, and guineas were advanced to 28s. or 30s. a piece, which put the trade of the nation into great confusion, and in particular with foreign nations, in respect to the price of exchange. And as to the guineas we had, they advanced to us about 5s. a piece more than we took them for in the country, and what I brought advanced to me about £14.

I was there at the time of our Friends' yearly meeting, which I attended, which was large and edifying and peaceable, except what was occasioned by George Keith, a Scotchman, who was bred a priest there, but was convinced of the Quaker principles, and made profession of the same, and published many books very sensibly in defence of their principles, both in Europe and America; but at Philadelphia he advanced some tenets in religion, being a great scholar, that his friends could not

comply with, but disowned him, upon which he appealed to this meeting, where he appeared, and persisted in his tenets, and would not be reconciled, and thereupon was testified against, and became very envious and reflecting, and put on a clergyman's habit, and got a benefice, and was supposed to assist in writing "The Snake in the Grass."

After we had settled our accounts, and bought and ordered what goods we had occasion for, and mostly by waggon to Standish, except some heavy goods by sea, there being now convoys appointed,—I, with Richard Greene, returned by way of Bristol, it being about 100 miles from London, which we did in three days by way of Reading, Marlborough, and Chipnam [Chippenham]. We had some recommendation thither, we being altogether strangers; but we were very civilly entertained and recommended, and had a full view of the situation of the city, shipping, and harbour, and what else was observable, and bought several parcels of goods, and settled a correspondence. What goods we bought we ordered by sea to Liverpool, which was then as dangerous as from London, [there] being no convoy, and the French privateers very frequently cruising upon the coast of Wales, Dublin, and the Isle of Man. We stayed three nights at Bristol, and came home by way of Gloucester, Worcester, Nantwich, and Warrington, and in good health, but was afraid of my horse, who had got some strain coming out of London.

In the 6th month this year, I went with Richard Greene to Liverpool, where we bought betwixt £200. and £300. worth of tobacco, most of it [in] bulk,—being the last that was suffered to be imported loose, or in small parcels; and an act of parliament passed that no tobacco should be imported but in cask or hogshead, to weigh 2 cwt. each net, to prevent the running it in bundles or small parcels, to defraud the king of his customs. We bought a good quantity now, to have the opportunity to pay for it in "short money," as it was now called; for in the later end of this year, the distraction was so great, that the parliament were convinced there was no remedy but to call in all the old money to be re-coined, and that the king in his revenues should take all the diminished [coin], either sterling or of a coarser alloy, in full count, and to recoin it into milled money, and keep an account of the deficiency, which should be made good by parliament. And for the more expedition, mints were erected at York, Norwich, Exeter, Bristol, and Chester, to be there coined, and the letter Y. N. E. B. or C. to be stamped on each piece coined there, to distinguish them, and a limited time set, in what time the old money should be brought in to be re-coined; and after that time a further time was limited, for any person who had old money to be re-coined, or plate, if they brought it into any of the said mints,—it should

be taken in at 5s. 8d. an ounce to be coined, and milled money given out for it in course; by which method most of the old money was recoined in a year. The last time to bring it in was to the 4th May, 1697. This gave great ease and satisfaction to all people, and brought trade into order. I was collector of the land tax for Lancaster this year: it was 4s. in the pound, and amounted to above £120., and we were obliged by the act to take any of the diminished money, either sterling or of a coarser alloy; which put us upon difficulties; [there] being people [who] would put upon us to take such as were brass or copper, covered over with silver, which we took, on condition if not paid to return it. But all these passed, and by my best observation, in new coining it must lose at least half. I was assisting the general receiver for the county in taking one quarter for Loynsdale hundred, about £300., which must lose at least half, and in the south the loss must be greater. To make good this loss, the duty on windows was imposed, which was continued many years for that use.

About this time, my sister Elin was seized with a violent fever, and was brought so weak that we did not expect her recovery for many weeks. Her mother duly attended her for some time. Also about this time my mother and sister and self were in great concern for our brother Leonard, who was somewhat untoward, and spent his time in such company as he could have no benefit. He would also buy and sell cattle, which is a dangerous employ; and to get him out of such business and company we were desirous he should marry. He had kept company with several, and particularly with Elin Benison, daughter of John Benison, of Poulton, whose father and mother died in her infancy, and [she] was under the guaranty [? guarantee or guardianship] of her uncle Robert Curwenn, of Torsholme, ship carpenter, who was a person of irregular conduct, and feared to have wasted his own estate, and impaired hers, so as not to give a good account of his guardianship. Upon which he [Leonard] was dissuaded to desist from his courtship for some time, till she came at age to call him [the uncle] to account for the same; but he died before that time, and his estate fell into the hands of Thomas Simpson, the attorney, who undertook to pay his debts so far as it amounted to, as also to account for Elin Benison, who was the only child of her father, and was heir to a good estate of land in Poulton aforesaid.

1696.—In this year, much of the old silver money was brought into the mints by the collectors of the revenues of the crown, as enacted, and [was] recoined and began to circulate; and as it came out, also the milled money coined in King Charles and King James's reign begun to

appear, which was supposed to have been melted down and coined in imitation of the diminished old coin; and for some years after this there was as much of that money in all payments, as of the old money new coined; by which it appeared that vast sums of that money were concealed, and [showed] the opulency of this nation. And as the new money increased, guineas declined in value, and all goods advanced in price, to put off their old money and guineas; and a great trade in the nation, and public credit with all nations advanced; which being particularly [observed] by the King of France, he said if England could maintain a war and at the same time remedy the ill state of their coin, it was in vain to contend with them any longer; and upon that he inclined to peace. After the time was out for the king's taking old money in count, and limited to 5s. 8d. an ounce, and new money appearing, all who had old money brought it out, and paid their debts [with] or bought goods for it.

At this time, I and Richard Greene went to Poulton, and there bought of James Baynes 30 hogsheads of tobacco, at 9d. a lb., to pay all in old money, part by count, and the rest at 5s. 8d. an ounce, which cleared us of the old silver money; and guineas came down to 22s.

This year my master Henry Coward's circumstances, as also his conversation, being taken notice of and inspected by his Friends, they thought it not proper to continue him in trust as their agent, in soliciting for or assisting their Friends who were in prison for not payment of tithes, not swearing, and other their conscientious not-conforming to the established religion. I was desired to undertake that charge, and keep an account of their suffering, and provide the prisoners with fuel and candles, at the county meeting's charge;—there being then more than 20 prisoners on that account;—which I undertook, and what was necessary for subsisting the poor among them with necessaries.

This year King William, who was a prince of much clemency and charity to his subjects of all religious professions, passed an act of parliament for the solemn affirmation of the people called quakers, to be accepted in all courts, instead of an oath in the usual form, except in criminal cases, which relieved them in their own defence in the bishops' courts, chancery, and exchequer, and other vexatious prosecutions.*

* We take the following from the Commons Journal of 1695 :—"A petition of the people called Quakers, was presented to the house and read, setting forth that their many sufferings for not swearing may give satisfaction; that it is purely a conscientious and religious principle not to swear in any case, according to the commands of our Saviour, as they conceive, and the example of many eminent martyrs; notwithstanding which they have been, and are, exposed to imprisonments, their estates

1697.—The beginning of this year John Troughton, my apprentice, had finished the same, and as I had determined some years before to give up my shop trade when he was loose, I offered it to him and his mother ; which he accepted of, but his mother, who was a very careful and industrious woman, was doubtful of his conduct. However, they thought it not proper to miss so good an opportunity, and so I sold the shop goods for sale, and the boxes, chests, scales, weights, and all other moveable goods in the shop, belonging to me, at the price they cost me, which amounted to £187., to be paid at six, twelve, and eighteen months, which was duly performed ; and I duly waited on the shop while he went to Sheffield, London, and Liverpool to buy in new goods ; and [I] gave him recommendations to all my correspondents. I continued with him in the shop most of this year to assist him, and collect my book debts, and assist and recommend him to my customers, and gave him good advice to be diligent and obliging to his customers. But in a little time he began to be much out and to enter into acquaintance and familiarity with such persons and at such places as I cautioned him against, and tenderly advised him to forsake, otherwise I must forsake him, nor assist or recommend him ; which advice he did not receive as I could desire, upon which I withdrew from him. Then his mother and sister came to Lancaster and took a house, in order to board, lodge, assist, and advise him ; which his mother undertook with much pains and care, as she was a discreet woman, but had not the success they expected, and his disorder so increased that she withdrew. And about his being two years in trade he took an apprentice, John Hull, son of John Hull, who was then priest or curate at Overton, who was a hopeful youth, but for want of his master's diligence and attendance grew careless and negligent, to the great decay of his trade, which at his entering upon it was well-accustomed, and the profit of it to me then was at least £100. a-year. He continued in his disorder, and was abusive and quarrelsome in his liquor, and feared would have married an old housekeeper of evil fame ; but some years before he broke he married his cousin Ann Cooper ;

seized and sequestered, and themselves disabled from defending or recovering their just rights and properties, for want of an oath ; and praying leave to bring in a bill, that their solemn affirmation or denial may be accepted instead of an oath ; freely submitting, that whoever shall falsify the truth, and be thereof convicted, shall undergo like pains and penalties as, in law and justice, are due to perjured persons. And the question being put, that leave be given to bring in a bill, according to the prayer of the petition, the house divided : the *yays* go forth. Tellers for the *yays*, Sir Harry Hobart and Mr. Clark : 189. Tellers for the *noes*, Sir John Barker and Mr. Gwynn: 145. So it was resolved in the affirmative. Ordered, that Mr. Waller do prepare and bring in the bill."

whose mother was his mother's sister, but he had no child by her. He got his brother Robert bound in bonds with him, which also broke him; which caused his mother's sorrow till death, and broke the family, which had been as much in substance and reputation as any family in Overton or the neighbourhood.

In this year end, some time after the death of Robert Curwenn, my brother Leonard renewed his courtship to Elin Benison, and married her; she being then under the care, and her effects under the management, of Thomas Simpson of Torsholme, an attorney, as executor to Curwenn. Her personal estate was expended, and her real estate somewhat encumbered, and my brother sold [it], which produced to him betwixt £300. and £400., with which he purchased lands near his own at Hatlex, whither he brought his wife, who was very young, and knew little of housekeeping. But his mother having a good maid servant, of long experience, let him have her, who, with my mother's advice and assistance, put them into the methods of housekeeping according to their ability.

Towards the end of this year, when I had stated my accounts with my debtors and creditors, I inspected my books. What I had to begin with was £120., and I found by my books that I had lost, in nine years' trading, by 248 insolvent debtors in my books, the sum of £220. in money. In that time I was not concerned as owner or merchant in any [vessel], or freighter, except coastwise, from London, Bristol, or Liverpool hither, nor suffered any considerable loss that way. I had about £10. worth of goods in one ship from London, which was taken by the French, and soon after retaken by a Dutch privateer, and restored to the owners, upon payment of about 15 or 20 per cent., for salvage and other charge, and thereupon our goods were restored to us again at London. I also now took an estimate of all my goods and effects together, and found they amounted to the value or sum of £1,320., and that I was debtor to sundry persons at that time £203., which, when paid, my clear estate was £1,100. or upwards, all supposed good; so that my improvement in nine years was above £100. a year, one year with another, the above losses excluded. At my beginning I was too credulous, and too slow in calling, and seldom made use of attorneys, except to write letters to urge payment, being always tender of oppressing poor people with law charges, but rather to lose all, or get what I could quietly, than give it to attorneys. And I never sued any to execution for debt, nor spent 20s. in prosecuting any debtor; and to lose all was more satisfaction to me than getting all to the great cost of my debtor, and to the preservation of my reputation.

1698.—In the first month this year the fire happened which burned down in Lancaster above 20 dwelling houses. It begun about nine in the morning, the second day of the week, in the north-west corner of the house belonging to John Johnson's children, where their mother then dwelt, by her daughter Ann Tinkler, aged about 15, carrying out ashes to that corner not well quenched. The thatch being not two yards above it, a spark got to it, and was not discovered till it got to the roof; and there was a strong east wind and a dry season. It spread in an instant, and in half an hour to the furthest, where it was stopped by stone and slated buildings. It was so quick and violent that people had not time to get out their most necessary and valuable goods. All that was burned was on the north side the street, except one house, and the main industry was to keep it on that side. There were two stone and slated houses, which were burned round, yet escaped. As soon as I had notice, I went to the house it begun in, which was under my trust, and got the fire out of it, with about 40s. or 50s. damage; the wind being so strong, it blew it almost out of it. The whole loss was computed at about £2,000., and a brief [was] got, and some collectors appointed over the nation; but the charge [of] collecting [was] so great, that not one-fourth of the value lost did come to the sufferers.

The 10th day of the second month this year my master, Henry Coward, died, being about 50 years of age. He had been an active and affable man, and very much respected by people of all ranks and professions, and particularly by his friends called Quakers, to whom he was assistant in their sufferings and other ways. But at the same time [he] affected popularity and to be drawn into some gentlemen's company, and to pretend [to] skill in horses; which drew him from his necessary business, which, whilst I was with him, was very good, and his credit so good that if any had money to dispose of, if they got it into his disposal, they concluded it was safe. But this large credit, and his freedom in conversation in company, and in some houses of no good character, hurt his esteem of his best friends. He also dealt in merchandise with loose partners, and became concerned much with persons of declining circumstances, where neither profit nor credit could be got; and he gave uneasiness to his wife by his frequenting some houses of no good character. And she was a very indolent woman, and drew money privately from him, and his circumstances became so burdensome to him, that he daily expected to be made a prisoner; which, with the shame of forfeiting his former reputation, it drew him into despair, and broke his heart, so that he kept to his house for some time, and died for grief or shame. He made a will, and made his wife executor, to pay his debts as far as his

personal estate extended, and invested his real estate in Robert Lawson and me, to sell towards the payment of the rest of his debts, which proved more than all would disburse. The widow, although she had a brother and other rich relations in the town, yet none of them would be bound with her in the bishop's court for the due performance of her husband's will here; so she got a poor man well dressed, and went to Kerby Loynsdal, and got legal administration; and the poor man was accepted as her bondsman. She made a sale of the shop goods, mostly to Elijah Salthouse; I then having no intention to the retail trade. She paid part of his debts, to whom and where she pleased, but not regularly, being not subject to take good advice, in order to discharge her trust in reputable manner.

The first day of the third month this year, I gave over housekeeping, and turned up the house to the landlord; being I saw I could not be any further serviceable to John Troughton, and grieved at his slighting my favour and service, and to see his loose and disorderly conversation. And as my good neighbour William Cornish, the collector, always said that when I left the house, he would also leave that part he dwelt in, and not to have any other so near him: and accordingly he left that house after we had lived in good neighbourhood about four years. My sister went this year to dwell with her brothers Josias and Leonard, where she was a good service and company to his young wife in her housekeeping.

I being at this time much out of business, I was persuaded by some neighbours to stand a sixth part share in a new ship of about 80 tons, now building near Warton, which I accepted of, and was active in preparing materials and other services for the speedy finishing her.

I having an intention to go to the yearly meeting at London this year, had a horse offered by my brother Leonard, and well kept in my stable. He was well in the evening, and found dead in the morning, a few days before my intended journey. But, about the same time, a man came down from London, in order to be a preacher to a presbyterian or independent congregation here, who had a horse lent there, and to return him again; and, hearing of my going, offered me the horse to ride upon, trusting to my care of him, and to deliver him in London as directed, which I accepted; which I thought would save the charge of keeping a horse in London, and I then thought of hiring one down. The horse carried me well, and was well received at London. I went from here the beginning of the third month, and accidentally met with James Penny [and his sister] of Penny Bridge, going to London in order to collect the effects of their brother, lately dead there,

who were good and agreeable company; and at Warrington we met with several Friends, men and women, who were going to that meeting, and all so agreeable company that I never went to London at so little charge as at this time, or so good entertainment. James Penny, his sister, and I, took up our lodgings at the Swan with Two Necks, in Lad Lane, whilst they stayed in London. I duly attended the general yearly meeting, which was large, unanimous, peaceable, and edifying; and afterwards, at the desire of the owners of the ship building at Warton, I bought for her masts, sails, rigging, anchors, and cables, &c., and got them put on board the Edward and Jane (ketch), Thomas Thorp, master (but when I was first at London James Myers was master of her). She was now full, and ready to sail for Liverpool, and I resolved to come in her by sea to Liverpool; and we had a very ready passage to Gravesend, where we stopped a tide to clear out, and then had a fair wind to the Downs, but did not come to an anchor there; and the wind being south-west, we proceeded with a great many ships, who made but little progress; but ours being a good sailer, we got ahead of them, except a Dutch dogger, who kept the sea along the coast of Kent and Sussex; but were obliged to go within the Isle of Wight, near Portsmouth, and through the king's fleet at Spithead, and came to an anchor at Jack in the Basket, near Limington, whither we went in our boat to buy some provisions. We were at anchor there some days, the wind being westward. We came out at the Needles, but the wind not favourable, and turning to the west till we came near Plymouth, most of the ships in company put in there, but ours stood to the southward, and tacked into Mount's Bay, and afterwards to the south, the wind being west, till at the next tack we weathered the Land's End, and came betwixt and the Isles of Scilly; and now the westerly wind favoured us, so that we got from the Land's End to Holyhead in two days, and went within the Skerries; and next night, in the night, to Liverpool town side, all well, and in good health. In this voyage I had a very good appetite to my victuals, and slept well. In this voyage I had a good view of the River Thames, and all the seaports on the south and west of England, except Plymouth. I intended to have come by sea from Liverpool to Lancaster; but my brothers, hearing of my arrival at Liverpool, sent me a horse by some neighbours, shopkeepers, who were then coming to Liverpool; which, after I had re-shipped the goods, I came home by land. At my coming home, I went to board and lodge with Joshua Lawson, where I remained till the third of third month next, in which time I was employed in about the building of the ship, and fitting her out for a voyage for Virginia, and providing a cargo; all which was completed about the

eighth month. She was named the *Employment*, and James Myers, master. Her cargo [which] was in goods, cost £360., which we thought sufficient to purchase her loading of tobacco, about 150 hogsheads, and was consigned to the management of the said James Myers, who sailed in the ninth month, and called at Dublin to take in provisions.

In this year Robert Haydock, of Liverpool, freighted a ship for Philadelphia, to take in such passengers as were disposed to go to settle in Pennsylvania; upon which there were more than 20 persons, old and young, of our merchants of Lancaster, took this opportunity, sold their estates, and took their families. Amongst them was George Godsalve, a young man who was brought up in a grocer and draper's shop, and was disposed to go there with his substance as a merchant: and for his encouragement I adventured with him a parcel of woollen, linen, and other goods, suitable for that country, to the value of £110., and consigned them wholly to his care and management for me.

Henry Coward's widow having got legal administration, among other his personal estates, he had a tenement of a house in the Back Lane in Lancaster, and some lands in Lancaster and Scotforth, under Thomas Cole, of the Coat, Esq., for his and his sons' John's and Henry's lives, or the longest liver of them within 100 years, upon the payment of the yearly rent of £12., and some boons and services. The same was valued and let at about £20. a-year, which she endeavoured to sell; but her circumstances were so precarious that no purchaser offered; and to promote the sale and to make most of his effects, I offered £90. for it, but no other person offering that, or to advance it, I was obliged to take it, and had her assignment of it, and paid the sum to John Fowler, £40., and Gilbert Hault, £50.; which money was due to them upon bond from her husband Henry Coward; and this by his consent. And toward paying for this, there was some lands in Kellet and Boulton, devised by our father's will to our youngest brothers, Richard and Thomas, which, upon their decease in their infancy, descended to me and my brother Leonard, to the value of £100., and my part of which my mother and brother have had the benefit of for about 20 years since their death. The said lands were now sold, part to John Rippon, of Kellet, and to my brother Leonard the rest, my part of which was applied to make good the purchase of this tenement.

1699.—It was in about ten years before this time that Christopher Middleton and Elizabeth his wife, who had two daughters,—Margaret, married publicly and with their consent, to Joshua Crosby, of Ormskirk (a grocer and honest man, but not very capable to manage his trade to much advantage)—the other, Elizabeth, who affected to be proud and

disobedient to her parents, and clandestinely and without the knowledge and consent of them married Ralph Baynes, a saddler by trade, also made soap and candles. He was a proud, subtle, and ill-natured man, nice and curious in his victuals and drink, and abusive to his wife, and used her not so well as a servant, but rather as a slave, and now was reduced through his extravagancy. Their parents, foreseeing their poverty, had at the time aforesaid settled their house and land, in all about two hundred pounds value, in trust of Robert Lawson and me, for the support of their said daughters and children, in such manner as we saw most necessary. But the said Baynes, supposing he had power, had signed over his interest of it to some of his creditors, which when we understood, we produced our power of trust, which offended him so much that he abused us. Upon which his creditors brake him up, and sold what he had, and upon which he fled the country, and left his wife and five small children and an apprentice, without anything to subsist upon; and this being a year that corn was dear, oatmeal at 16s. a windle [? 220lb.]. In order to get them a living, I advanced to her about £30. to buy tallow and ashes to make candles and soap, which she undertook, being now enured to hardship; and with the industry of her apprentice, William Marshall, she maintained her family, and repaid me again most of what I advanced her in about four years' time; when her husband, hearing of the success of her industry, returned home to her, after he had rambled all over England and also in America, and took her trade from her for some years, till he had wasted what she had, and then left her and went to London, where he earned 15s. a week, but could not live upon it. She was then put upon keeping ale, and had very good business as a pot-house for some years; which, when he understood, he returned upon her, only with his ill conditions, abusing her and all her friends, and continued with her some years, till he died; at which time he showed some remorse for his evil life, and abuse of his best friends. She continued to keep a pot-house some years after his death, till her children were grown up, and that they became more a burthen than an assistance to her, and no way hopeful for themselves. Her other sister being also become a widow, and I being the surviving trustee, their estate was sold, and the money equally paid to them to subsist upon, being old and infirm, and no support from [the] children.

It being now above a year since Henry Coward died, and his widow administered, and the personal estate disposed of, and few of his debts paid, the principal creditors—and particularly his mother, Elin Jainson (who upon giving up her house, and selling her goods, let him have £100. upon his bond),—employed an attorney or lawyer, to subpoena

Robert Lawson and me into the chancery, to act, or assign over our trust, in order to sell his real estate, which we were doubtful to undertake, seeing his circumstances were so doubtful, and no account made or like to be made of the personal estate. But considering the charge and expense, and into whose management it might fall, we undertook to publish it on sale, but no customer offered; his affairs being so intricate. Upon which I promised to take that part of the house on the west side of the gate which he died in possession, and which was mortgaged for the payment of £10. a year to Leonard Fell and Mary his wife, during their lives or the longer liver of them, and also Henry Coward's widow, claiming her widow-right of it, both which incumbrances amounted for [to] £15. a year, which I offered to give £180. for, with those incumbrances, if no person offered to exceed it; and as no person offered to advance it, it was confirmed to my brother Josias, and I paid the said sum to the bond creditors of Henry Coward, and particularly to Elin Jaynson, who was then about 80 years of age, and with the said money purchased a lease of a tenement in Balke, of Esquire Dalton for £70. of about £8. a-year, three lives, for her own maintenance, and after that for the maintenance of her daughter Mary, an idiot, who by her will she left in trust with [of] me and John Holme. Elin Jaynson died in 1709, and Mary in 1719, being the surviving life in the lease. The next year after I bought the house, I built the kitchen, warehouse, and cellar under it, which cost me £70., and I paid the widow for her thirds till she died (in 1706) £35. Leonard Fell died in 1701; but his widow lived till the second month 1708, to whom I had paid £10. a year for nine years, is £90.; so that my first purchase of £180. laid dead till her death; so that the house stood me at least £300. in the condition it was in when I first bought it; the yearly rent not being so much as to pay the two widows their annuities. Upon the purchase of it, I entered upon it in the third month this year, and began to keep house in part of it, my dear sister Elin being free, and willing to come and dwell with me as my house-keeper; and who had hitherto made profession of the episcopal religion, but now joined in the religion of the people called Quakers, from her own conviction, without mine or any other's persuasion to it, but which tended to our mutual comfort and satisfaction.

The other part of Henry Coward's estate was the east side of the gate of the house, and a meadow, three acres, then in the possession of Mark Horsfall, which he held on lease from Esquire Tildsley for two lives in being; the reversion of which John Cawson purchased from Tildsley and Henry Coward purchased from Cawson. But we had none who offered to purchase except John Horsfall, son of the said Mark, who was then

in a prospect of business encouraging to perform it. We contracted with him for it, for £190., and he procured money to pay half, and we procured a judgment to be entered for the rest; and thereupon I became bound with him to sundry persons for £100. more, and had it mortgaged to me for £200.; which continued some years, till he had the misfortune to be in danger of prosecution for being accessary to the counterfeiting of stamped paper; for his cousin Henry Horsfall was detected for that crime, and had been condemned for it; but had his pardon upon his discovering all that he knew accessary, among whom he accused his said kinsman John Horsfall, who accidentally came to his house and found him at that work, and I believe was no further concerned; being he always bought stamped paper of me, being often employed to make bonds or other writings. Upon which the said John Horsfall thought it safest to withdraw and went to London; upon which I was obliged to pay all the money I was bound with him for, and got interest slowly paid. After some time stay in London he died intestate, and his brother Edmund became his heir; who was a decrepit and infirm man, and not able to pay interest nor willing to sell it till he died; before which he made a will to sell it, which his trustees refused to act in. The principal, being £200., was advanced, with simple interest, to £274., upon which I was obliged to exhibit a bill in Chancery, to compel the sale, and had a decree, and the house was sold, and I got my money, after many years' vexation and trouble with them, and particularly with Margaret Walton, their sister, and her husband. What money we sold the estate for was applied to pay off Henry Coward's bond debts; so that we met with no further trouble on that account, which I have since thought a risk extraordinary. The above said Henry Horsfall was a lewd, atheistical man, and although it was believed he made a full and true confession of what he knew of counterfeiting and making stamps, yet upon prosecuting the attempt, the jury would not convict any upon his evidence, and gave for their reason that he was a professed atheist and not to be credited; so that his cousin John might not have absconded on that account, and I believe was innocent in fact.

This year Thomas Wales, of Lancaster, currier, died, who by his industry had got and saved above £100. He made his will, and by it gave to me and Richard Greene, in trust for his two children, Mary and Joseph, £70., they being about three and two years; and he left his wife Elizabeth sole executor, who was not very careful. So soon as the will was proved, we got her to make an assignment of the said £70., and placed it at interest; and soon after she married again to John Ashton, of Ellell, a rigid presbyterian, but she was a pretended quaker, and they lived very

disagreeably, but had many children. Her daughter Mary we placed with them on such terms that she got maintenance till she was at age to be a servant, and then maintenance till she was 21 years of age, and then had the whole £35. paid, and married an industrious husband. Joseph, the youngest, proved decrepit of body and of a *frandish* [frantic, passionate] or crazed disposition, which gave me some trouble (my partner, Richard Green, being dead). He was brought up with his grandfather Thomas Wilson, till he was at age for an apprentice, and then bound him to his uncle, Richard White, to the trade of a shoemaker, for seven years, and gave £10. with him; and he came forward in the trade to work well, but often took frandish fits, so as not to be compelled to work, served out his time, and then had above £20. to receive of his £35., which was paid. He got a wife and children; wrought journey-work, died poor, and his wife and children became a charge to Lancaster, although they lived some years, and he died at Ulverstone.

In the 5th month this year, our ship, the *Employment*, arrived from Virginia, but not much more than half laden with tobacco, so made a losing voyage. My part of the cargo outward was £61. 8s., and the freight of my share, £49.; and my part of the tobacco received was 5,697lb., which, at 3d. a lb. on board, as the market price then was, came to £71. 4s. 10d.; so that I lost by this voyage £39. 4s. And in the 9th month this year, we fitted out the said ship again upon a voyage to Barbadoes, and placed in her John Gardner, as master; took in here sundry dry goods, and took in provisions at Dublin, to make up her load. My part of the cargo was £110., and was consigned to William Heysam in Barbadoes, where she arrived safe, and returned in due time, and I had returned in goods £132., freight and duty £30., so that I had in return only the value I sent; so that the profit remained there, in debts outstanding and goods unsold about £23., to be accounted for the next voyage thither.

In this year we had advice of the ship *Britannia's* arrival at Philadelphia, but in a lamentable condition. She was a large ship, and a dull sailer, and had about 140 passengers on board, and a hot and dry season, in which an infectious distemper seized them, of which at least one-half the passengers died, many of them heads of families, particularly Christopher and John Atkinson, and Thomas Wilson, from this town, who left three widows and above ten fatherless children; and also George Godsalve, to whom I assigned over my aforesaid adventure of £110., died at sea as they were going; so that there was none living at the ship's arrival that was capable to take the management of his concerns, so that the goods laid a long time undisposed of, and much

damaged before we could authorise any to take care of them. But after a year, we got John Coward, who was William Godsalve's wife's brother, who was then a factor in Virginia for some merchants in London, to go to Philadelphia to look after and dispose of them; who sold them and brought the produce of them into Virginia, and purchased tobacco with the same,—in all 62 hogsheads, which was shipped for London in 13 ships, of which 33 hhds. in seven ships came safe to London, and cleared, after freight and duty paid, £49.; and 15 hhds. in two ships were lost at sea, and 14 hhds. in five ships, which came to London safe, but upon sale, after freight and duty paid, lost £4., which was deducted from what the rest was sold for above freight and duty. Also we had some bread and flour sent to Barbadoes, and returns made to London, in sugar and ginger, produced about £20.; but never got account of sale of our goods at Philadelphia, or any account current from John Coward, or any other person, nor what the whole of George Godsalve's own effects were; but as my adventure was about £110., and I suppose his own was about the like sum. But the returns we got were not above £80., so that I lost by this adventure at least £70., after at least four years' delay, before we got what was to be had, as aforesaid.

At this time many people were disposed to sell their estates and go to Pensilvania to dwell; so that country, which 18 years ago was a wilderness, now became well inhabited, and the city Philadelphia now improved to two miles square, and at least 1,000 houses. But the misfortune of this ship discouraged many from removing. I being now settled in my own house, continued as formerly to rise early in the morning, at sun-rising in summer, and take a round walk a mile from the town, and every day in the week a several way, that it might appear that it was only for diversion, or solely for retirement. But in the evening, instead of walking to the Green Area [between Parliament-street and the river Lune], I now did after supper walk an hour or two in my garden in a solid retirement; when at the same time it was the custom of my neighbours of the same employment, to sit together in an alehouse entertaining themselves in vain conversation or impertinent reflections on the private affairs of their neighbours, or on the public affairs of state.

1700.—I was employed most of this year in pulling down and rebuilding the back part of my house into a kitchen and rooms over it, a cellar-ground warehouse, and others above it, which cost me about £70.; having then no other view than to employ them, otherwise than what was necessary for what I had engaged myself in merchandise; having then no thought to concern myself as a grocer, or keeping warehouse or shop

for that, or as an ironmonger,—as unthought of or unexpected. It soon afterwards happened, as follows:—In the ninth month this year, we fitted out the ship *Employment* a second voyage to Barbadoes, John Gardner, master, and was mostly freighted by her owners. What I sent to lade my part was in butter, cheese, tallow, candles, and beef in Ireland, in all amounting to the cost of £161., and the same was consigned to William Heysam. The ship made her voyage in due time, but met not with a good market. She arrived back in the fourth month, 1701, and in return she brought me sugar, cotton, wool, and ginger, cost in Barbadoes £172., and by his [Heysam's] account my part of debts outstanding and goods unsold amounted to £32.; so that the profit of the voyage remained behind, if any, which we were not easy at, and discouraged to make any further consignment to him; and the ship being not full laden, gained nothing.

About this time, my mother, being about 68 years of age, became incapable of keeping my brother Josias's house, and he being then not inclinable to marry, or to keep house with servants, he let his estate to farm to one Nicholas Walker, of Ellel, and he came to dwell with our brother Leonard at Hatlex, and my mother [stayed] some time there, and some time with me. But before the tenant had been there one year, it appeared that he came so much indebted where he came from, that his goods were seized, and he became unable to pay his rent; so that my brother was obliged to turn him off with loss, which so discouraged him that he would not let it any longer, but he and our mother went to it again, and managed it with servants to their better content and to the satisfaction of me, my sister, and all our family and relations.

In this year I took an account of my effects, and found the same to [amount to] the sum of £1,388., and that I owed, and had expended £303., so that the present value of what I now had clear was £1,185. This account [was] taken fourth month, first day, 1700; so what with my expenses and my loss in the Virginian voyage, and sundry insolvent debtors, I find that I have rather lost than gained anything this year past.

1701.—In the first week in the second month this year, my very good friend and neighbour Augustine Greenwood died, aged about 45 years. He took a walk into the fields with a neighbour in the afternoon, and I met him returning about five in the evening, at the head of the Market-street, in good health, as I was going to our meeting-house; but in two or three minutes after, about twenty rods further, he fell down dead in the Market-street, a little above the town hall, to the great astonishment

of people in the street. He was carried into the next house, and all means used to bring him to life, but to none effect or motion ; so that he died as suddenly as was possible ; and, after all means used, it could not be perceived anything to cause his so sudden death. This was a great surprise to his wife, to lose so suddenly so loving and provident a husband, and to the neighbourhood, of so good and serviceable a neighbour ; and many went to condole with her. I stayed at the meeting-house about two hours, and till I returned had no knowledge of it, and then [it] was so late, and many people about her, I thought it not convenient to visit her that evening ; but went the next morning, when I found her in much sorrow for the loss and sudden manner of the loss of her husband, who had been so careful and provident for her, that she had little knowledge of his affairs or circumstances ; nor had occasion only to govern the family, and make provision for them, which she always did in a decent and frugal manner. Their children were young, and he had no apprentice that knew anything of the management of his business, which was in merchandise and a wholesale grocer ; but [he] kept no shop, only a warehouse. After some stay with her, she brought the keys of the warehouse to me, and desired me to make use of them as I thought necessary, for the safety of the goods, and disposing of them, and also [to] inspect his books, to know how his accounts were kept. Which, after he was buried, I inspected, and [found] that his books were duly kept and posted, and even the last parcel of goods that he had delivered the day he died upon, was posted from his day-book or journal to his ledger or debt-book, in the manner he used. I would have the widow, some time after he was buried, to come to the warehouse (which was in another street, at a distance from their dwelling house), to have inspected the same, but could not persuade her to it, but [she] said that she would leave the same wholly to my management and disposal. But I had then no inclination to be concerned in the grocery trade, either wholesale or retail ; but, as she was resolved to sell all, the same was published, and Richard Leconby offered to buy the goods and farm the warehouse at the true value ; which was agreed on, and she desired me to value for her, and he said he would refer the same to me. Upon which I told them I must value them no more nor less than I should for myself ; upon which there were to the value of near £300. valued to him in a schedule. The said Leconby was to give security for the payment of the goods within a year, before he entered, but did not in a month bring security, so the bargain was void, and no other customer offering, she desired me, and told me that as I told her I would value them as equally as to myself, she expected I would take them ; which, considering her incapacity, I

accepted, to the value of £279., the same that Leconby should have had to pay as aforesaid, and I also took more in tobacco and other goods, about £220., and entered upon the same the 1st of 4th month this year, and gave notice to Augustine Greenwood's customers, and particularly of my acquaintance, that they might be served by me in the same manner and good usage as they had been by him, and what of his goods I had not disposed of to orders for her. He died without a will, had a good real estate, descended to his eldest son, and his personal estate was sufficient provision for his younger children. But the widow was doubtful of the personalty; and more, because he had not long before sustained a loss of £400. or £500. in a ship coming from Narva, and lost on the Lewis Island, laden with flax and hemp. After I had perused and examined his effects, in a month, I told her what I found would come clear to her and children; which she could not believe could be so much, nor could be persuaded to it for a year or more, and then said that she had gained by my estimate some hundred pounds.

Augustine Greenwood was the only son of his father John Greenwood, who died about seven years before him. He was first married to Gardener's daughter, of Cleevley, but had no child. His present wife was Alice, daughter of Thomas North, of Docker, and was first married to Christopher Hopkin, of Holme House, near Kerby Loynsdale; by whom she had a son named Christopher, now about 16 years of age; his father dying when he was very young, and very suddenly,—I think not in his bed. Her second marriage was to Thomas Townson, of Kerby Loynsdale, a grocer, by whom she had one son, who died very young; and that husband was drowned in Loyne [the Lune] as he was endeavouring to save another, but both perished: they were angling for fish. She was married to Augustine Greenwood about 1687. He was of the presbyterian religious profession, and the principal one of that profession here. [He] provided them a meeting-place here while he lived, and upon marriage she conformed to them, and continued so till her death, and also [granted] the meeting-house freely without rent. They had three children living at his death—Ann, about 12 years of age; John, about 10; and Benjamin, about 8 years old. Her son, Hopkins, she would have had me take to be an apprentice, but I was not willing; being he had a very good estate, worth £50. a-year, and some hundred pounds' worth of wood upon it; for which, I thought he were proper for better preferment than any business I had; so [he] was kept to school, writing and accounts, for two years from hence; and when he was about 18 years of age, she sent him to London, and by the assistance of some friends there, got him placed as a clerk in the custom-house, under

Christopher Tower, where he remained, and was advanced from £100. to £200. a-year, but did not improve himself, but lived to the full of his getting in voluptuousness, and indulging himself in his appetites; so that in about 20 years he had contracted distempers of which he died, unmarried; without improving his own paternal estate, which he left by will to his half-brother Benjamin Greenwood, without any respect to his father's brother or relations. Her daughter Ann she educated altogether as a gentlewoman, and being her only daughter, humoured her in apparel and diversion, without putting her to the exercise of housewifery; and when she was marriageable, she was recommended by some presbyterian preachers to Ralph Spencer, a merchant in Leeds, as a proper husband for her, and as a person of good estate and good business. But, at the same time I had advice that he was not of the substance or business as recommended; which I then advised her mother of. Nevertheless they married, and he proved an indulgent husband and humoured her in her inclinations in high company and living; and also [was] not diligent in his business, but became sottish and slothful, and died insolvent, and left his wife in a very decayed condition with two children, which her mother took in and maintained till her said daughter by her intemperate living died, and left her two sons to their grandmother, who maintained them, and at her death made sufficient provision for them according to her ability; but they did not improve it according to their capacity and education. Her youngest son Benjamin was but dull and slow in learning, and his mother always said she had but little hopes of him; but I always told her that I hoped and thought she might have as much satisfaction in him as in any other of her children. He was inclinable to go to sea, and she put him an apprentice to James Cannon, a Scotchman, to be a sailor; who proved a severe master and inured him to great hardship. He was a sharp man and carried on an unlawful trade with France and Spain, in the time of war, and were [was] often in prison and hard usage, in hunger and in want of clothes. When he was loose, by the favour of Christopher Towers he got to be a mate in an Ostend ship to China, and performed the voyage; and after had the command of a fine ship in the Newfoundland trade to Leghorn, in which he had good success for many years and improved himself, and married a daughter of Alderman Martins, of London, with whom he got £6,000. or £7,000.; which, with his improvement and two brothers' estates, is now worth £500. a-year.

Augustine Greenwood's eldest son John was about 11 years old when his father died. His mother got [what] education was to be had here for him till he was about 17 years of age, and then sent him to London; who, with the assistance of Christopher Towers, was placed with some Italian

merchants and continued at London some years, and [was] then sent to Leghorn, in Italy, as a factor for his masters, and afterwards for himself, and got so much respect among the merchants, that, by their recommendation to the Lord Carteret, then secretary of state, he was preferred to be consul for the king and merchants there; which cost him what he had acquired, and impaired him in his health; so that he did not enjoy it a year, but fell into a lingering distemper of which he died; having rather encumbered than improved his paternal estate, which descended to his brother Benjamin.

Upon the ship *Employment's* return from her second voyage to Barbadoes, in the 4th month this year, she was fitted out the next month for Bergin [Bergen] in Norway, John Gardner master, by whom I sent £40. in crown pieces, to purchase my part of her lading in tar and fir dales [deals]. She made the voyage in three months, and I had in return tar and dales which yielded me above £10. clear gains, and the ship proportionally for freight; and this voyage was all and only what I had got in this or any other ship or adventure by foreign merchandise, but had suffered several losses. And after her return from this voyage, we fitted her out again for Barbadoes, and I sent in her goods to the value of £150., and consigned them to John Grove in Barbadoes, being not satisfied with William Heysam's management, who always sent short of returns; and at the same time wrote to him to return what remains we had in this ship. John Gardner was continued master, and got well to Barbadoes, but not to [as] good profit as expected.

On the third day of the 8th month this year, about ten in the evening, was the highest tide in this river [Lune]. The storm at sea must be greater than on the land. It happened three days before the change of the moon, which made it more remarkable. It surprised many in their houses here, and some in bed, before they were aware of it; and many suffered damage in their goods, houses, and lands; but not so much loss at sea as was feared. Upon casting up my accounts this year, I could not find that I had improved myself above £5. this year; having had several insolvent debtors and other expenses and losses; so that what I valued my clear effects now, did not exceed £1,180., both real and personal estate, 4th month, 1st, 1701.

In this year King James the Second died, at St. German's, in France. Upon his death, Lewis, King of France, caused or permitted his [James's] pretended son to be proclaimed King of England, at Paris, contrary to his engagement and acknowledgement of King William as lawful king, at the treaty of Riswick.

1702.—Upon the death of King James [II., who died in 1701], and

his pretended son being proclaimed king as aforesaid [at Paris, by Louis XIV.], King William went to Holland, and at the same time the King of France had got his grandson Philip settled upon the throne of Spain, and also got possession of the Spanish Netherlands, and encroached upon the emperor's dominions, and had brought over the King of Portugal, Duke of Savoy, Elector of Bavaria, and some other princes of Germany, to his own interest; which induced or obliged King William, the Emperor of Germany, and the States of Holland, to enter into a confederacy to oppose or make war against the King of France and his confederates. And a war was then resolved upon, and to be commenced upon the 4th day of May next, and orders sent to America and other foreign parts to begin hostilities at the same time; before which time the French had seized several of the barrier towns in Flanders, and turned out the Dutch garrisons, and committed other hostilities. King William returned from Holland, and upon hunting fell from his horse and broke his collar bone, but was somewhat recovered of that, but had some other distempers growing upon him, so that upon the 8th day of the 1st month, 170 $\frac{1}{2}$ [i. e. 8th March, 1701, old style; 8th March, 1702, new style], he died, and the Princess Anne, of Denmark, was [proclaimed Queen of England. Upon which she declared that she would perform and prosecute all engagements that her predecessor, King William, had entered into with foreign powers. And now war was provided for, both by land and sea, and a great fleet of ships of war of English, and a proportional part of Dutch joined them, and put to sea for the Mediterranean sea, and there was no port that they could put into for refreshment but [those of] enemies, from England till they came at Genoa, or Leghorn, where they came without disturbance, to the terror of the French and Spanish. They brought home the merchant ships from Italy, Turkey, and others in their way, safely. France in the last war maintained their ground against all their opposers, on every side; and now it seemed a desperate undertaking of England and its confederates to undertake a war against them, when they were in confederacy with Spain and Portugal, the Duke of Savoy, &c.; and especially now, having no ports open from England till Italy. This war put a stop again to commerce by sea betwixt this county and London; so that we were obliged to have our goods by carts or waggons from London to Standish in the summer time, at about 4s. a cwt. thither, and 18d. from thence home for all goods above 23s. a cwt.; and [those] of a lower price by sea, there being now better convoys than in the last war. King William left 129 large ships of war; 56 for convoys, and above 80 smaller for cruising and tenders.

In the fourth month this year, I removed my goods from Augustin Greenwood's warehouse to that I built at home lately, which was intended to lodge my merchandise by foreign trade; not intending or expecting that I should concern myself in the grocer trade in retail or wholesale, but it now answered my occasion. And it being now a year since I began, I made an estimate of my effects in writing, and now found that the balance of the same (after omitting about £30. bad debts, made this year) was £1,256.; last year, £1,180; and that I had gained this year £76.

Our ship *Employment* met with a low market at Barbadoes, for what they carried outwards; but their goods very dear; Muscovado sugars, 38s. per cwt.; black ginger, 44s.; cotton wool, 12d. per lb.; molasses, 18d. a gallon. With what cargo she got, but not full laden, she sailed from Barbadoes in company of several ships of force, and kept company half way; but not far from the banks of Newfoundland she accidentally lost sight of her company, and next day met with a French ship of some force bound to Newfoundland, who made a prize of her. Soon after, they saw the rest of the ships she was separated from, but got no assistance from them. The French were determined to send her directly to St. Malo, in France; when John Gardner, the master, treated to ransom her, and agreed with the captors for £1,100. sterling, and to go with them to France as ransomers till the said money was paid; which the said ship was delivered to William Barrow, the mate, to bring home to England. The French did strip the sailors of most of their clothes and provisions; and coming out of a hot climate to cold, before they got home they were so weak that they were scarce able to work the ship, and the mate being not an experienced pilot, spent time in making the land, and was embayed on the coast of Wales, but with difficulty got off, and then made the Isle of Man, and stood for Peel Fouldrey [the Pile or Piel of Fouldrey], but missed his course, so that he made Rossall Mill [near Fleetwood], for Walna Mill [Piel Castle stands on the Isle of Walney], and run in that mistake till he was embayed under the Red Banks, behind Rossall, so as he could not get off; and it blowing hard, and fearing she would beat, they endeavoured to launch their boat; but were so weak that they could not do it, but came to an anchor. She struck off her rudder, and at the high water mark she slipped her cables and run her on shore, in a very foul strong place, where she beat till she was full of water, but the men got well to land. But it was believed if they had been able to launch the boat and attempted to land in her, the sea was so high and the shore so foul, that they might have all perished. This happened in the 8th month, 1702, and we had early

notice of it to Lancaster, and got horses and carts with empty casks to put the damaged sugars in, and to get on shore what could be saved, which was done with much expedition. We got the sugar into Esquire Fleetwood's barn, at Rossall, and the cotton wool into Bispham Chapel, and in the neap tides got the carpenters at work, hoping to get the ship on float in the spring [tide]; which had been done, but a storm came with the rising tides and beat her in pieces, and we sold her rigging and what was saved of the ship at about £100, and brought what was fit to retail home and sold it by auction; and the cotton wool was sent to Manchester, and sold for £200. They had early advice to St. Malo of the ship's being wrecked, and feared the ransom would not be paid, and that the said Gardner would remain their prisoner, and he [feared] most of all. At his arrival there, he was supplied by Widow Vincent and Sons, who offered to treat and endeavour to get an abatement for his ransom; whose service was accepted of, and a composition obtained for one-half, and £550. sterling was remitted and paid after he had been about six months prisoner. The whole value of goods shipped in Barbadoes was £2,750., and the ship valued [at] £600.; the whole £3,250. [*Sic.*] And, after the ransom was paid and all sold, there remained to be divided to the whole proprietors of the ship and cargo £702.; so the whole loss was £2,550. My own concern in the ship was one-sixth owner, value £100.; shipped for me by John Grave, in Barbadoes, in goods, £250.; and by Wm. Heysam (being the remains of two former voyages thither), about £60.; in all, £410.; for which I had £88. for my part of the net product of what was saved; so that my loss by that ship and voyage was £324., or above £300. at least.

In the 11th month this year, Richard Greene died, aged about 34 years. He was my intimate friend and sociable companion, in diverting ourselves in walking together on the Green Area and in the fields, in the days in summer, and in moonlight nights in winter, all the time I kept shop; and we went often together to London, Liverpool, and other places, and bought goods together, and after divided them; but never went to public-houses to drink, except on trade account. But after I gave over the shop, he fell into the company of my man Troughton, William Godsolve, and such like, to sit drinking, and gradually to excess, and neglected his father's business, and became sottish, so as to impair his health, and lose his appetite to victuals, and at last to the excessive drinking of brandy, a pint in a short time, which killed him; to the grief and loss of his father, now 74 years of age, to whom he was his main assistant till about four years before he died. Upon the death of Richard Greene and his sister Margaret, who died the same year, by the

same intemperate living, their father, Thomas Greene, sent to London for his daughters Bethia and Elizabeth, who had been there with their grandmother Drinkall and sister Elin, who was married to Joshua Wilson, in hopes and expectation that they might be assistance to him and their mother in his trade and otherwise, in their old age. Accordingly they came, and it was hoped and expected by all their friends that it was well projected, and by myself in particular, who had always a respect for that family, and wished their prosperity.

I was now 38 years of age, and might have thought that reason and prudence might have overbalanced affection and passion; but now found a contest betwixt them with respect to Bethia Greene, of whom I had entertained great hopes that she would deport herself with such duty to her parents as to gain the respect of all their friends; and my affections to her were so far captivated to her, that upon a solid consideration it was impressed upon my mind that if ever I married, it must be to her. At the same time, reason and prudence told me that it was very unequal, she being 12 years younger than me, and she being brought up in a genteel manner, under a very indulgent mother, and I of a rustical habit and deportment, and way of living. But I resolved to contain myself for some time, to see how she would be dutiful and assistant to her parents, and converse with sober and discreet people. She was apprehensive of my respect for her, although I had not imparted the same to her or any other person; and I perceived that she was very averse to it, in respect of my age and plain appearance, and retired way of living, and avoided all opportunity of coming into my company, although her father and mother would have encouraged me. But at the same time, they entertained a young woman in their house as a companion, who, I was assured, would be no good example to them, which was a trouble to me and their best friends; and they were advised of it, but for some small advantage in trade indulged it. Notwithstanding which I continued my affections, hoping for better consideration of their own solid interest and happiness. But in time, I perceived that she [Bethia] was solely affected with light and airy company, young men and women, and had little sense of her parents' necessity of her good conduct and assistance, which was rather burthened than relieved by her. Instead of that, she drew off the servants from their necessary business to lightness and vanity. Upon her deportment as aforesaid, it brought me to consider how many good opportunities I had slighted of marrying into good families, to several young women of discreet behaviour and good fortunes, of my own profession and religion; being always resolved never to marry any other woman than professors of the people called Quakers'

religion. And upon her deportment as aforesaid, I endeavoured to withdraw my affections from her, and was advised and recommended by some friends to apply to a young woman of a good family and very religiously inclined, in order to marry her; and I made some attempts, but did not much progress in it. She dying soon after, made me consider of what was suggested to me as to Bethia Greene; so that I contented myself with living with my sister Elin, who was as careful and diligent to serve me, as much or more than if I had been her own son, and I was tender to her; who was very infirm of body and subject to many infirmities. I kept her a good maid servant, and we had always two of my brother Leonard's children with us,—took them at two years old, and kept them till they were six years old, and capable to go to Boulton school,—and my sister was as careful to nurse and correct them, as if they had been her own children.

1708.—In the fourth month this year, as usual yearly, I made an inventory of all my effects and credits, and found the same to amount to £1,142. 19s. 10d., after a deduction of what I was owing; which was more than I expected, considering my loss in the ship Employment last year. And, as I had now done with merchandise, what I had to depend upon was, the wholesale grocery trade, which had done well hitherto. I continued it this year, and had nothing further to observe on my own affairs.

But upon the 24th of the eleventh month this year, my ancient friend and neighbour, Thomas Greene, died, aged about 75; who had been an industrious and respectable grocer and draper from his youth. He was married about the year 1664 to Elizabeth Drinkall, who was born in London, but came here to visit her father's country, whereby they came to be acquainted. She was then very young, but his mother being then, and almost 20 years after, living, and had been a reputable housekeeper, was a good director in housekeeping. They had at least ten children, six of them dead and four living at his decease; but after the mother's decease they had the imprudence of taking into their house two gentlemen and their wives to board, while their children were young, intending for profit; but put them upon plentiful provision and living, and their children to partake of the same, and fashionable clothing and communication; [so] they could not forget it when their boarders were gone. He was diligent in his trade, and also had a shop at Burton [in Kendal], which he attended every market day there, and Wm. Huggin, of Yeland, on other days; which was very beneficial to him. But his wife, who only minded the house, was too easy, and entertained some flattering, dissembling women, who were chargeable to them, and

drew out their children to excess in victuals, apparel, and vanity in conversation. Only his son Richard was closely kept to the shop, and lodged in it till he was grown up, and was very obliging to customers for ten or twelve years, till he fell into company and came to decline, as I have before observed, which was a great grief and exercise to his father, and loss in his trade. And his other children, as they grew up, became very chargeable, and [were] indulged in everything and in any company by their mother, [which] affected him and his circumstances very much, and to be declining; and although he was naturally of a very affable and courteous disposition, yet the crosses and disorder of his children in his last year much reduced him, and forwarded his death, which came upon him without much sickness. Thomas Greene made a will, in which he made his wife whole executrix, and appointed me and Robert Lawson supervisors and assistants to her in the due performance of the same. He had a real estate in houses and lands worth £800., which he left to his only son and heir, Joseph Greene, then an apprentice to — Hudson, an ironmonger in London. His mother to have her thirds. His personal estate, after all his debts were paid, was at least £600., which he gave to his wife and two daughters, Bethia and Elizabeth, equally among them; and as he left none capable to carry on the trade, endeavours was used to dispose of the shop; but the drapers were backward in taking the goods. But it being then supposed that I would marry Bethia and continue the trade, it forwarded the drapers to take the goods, rather than I should fall into that trade, which I never intended. So the goods were sold to the full value, and in good time all accounts settled, and the mother and daughters dwelt together: they kept a milliner's shop some years. Joseph Greene, when he had served out his time, came hither and sold most part of his estate, to the value of £400. or £500., in order to begin trade himself, and left the rest for his mother's occasions. He began trade, but soon became negligent and sottish; so that in a few years he had not only wasted what he had, but also engaged what remained, and broke, and after got some employ by sea, but died soon after.

The mother and sisters had not a due sense of the loss of a provident husband and father; [they] continued to live and entertain plentifully, and contrary to the hopes and expectations of their best friends, who endeavoured to make them sensible of their true interest, but in vain. They continued together four or five years, and had lessened their substance, and then Bethia married an Irishman of a facetious and agreeable disposition, who was a servant to one Pixley, a cheesemonger

at Uttoxeter, in Staffordshire, but of no substance. They divided her substance with her mother and sister, went into Staffordshire, and from thence to London, where they entered into the business of a cheesemonger or chandler's shop, but continued but a short time, till they broke. [They] had one child: she, near her time of a second, died suddenly. He left the city, fled to his native country without taking care for the child, who was brought up by some of his mother's relations; but died before he was 18 years of age. Elizabeth Greene, the mother, lived to [the year 1713, with her daughter Elizabeth, and till then had [wherewith] to subsist upon. After her death, her said daughter Elizabeth kept on the milliner's shop some years, but not to profit. [She] spent her time in treating and being treated by fashionable people, till she had spent all, and became an object of charity; and, in respect to the memory of her father and family, was decently boarded and provided for by the people called Quakers in Lancaster; she being all [that was] left of that family.

In or near this year [1703] John Hodgson, the greatest and most respectable merchant in my time, died. He was born in Ellel, was apprentice to John Greenwood, in Lancaster, grocer and apothecary; and, when out of his time, began that trade and had good business, and improved himself. His first wife, Wilson, [was] of the family of Dallam Tower, in Westmoreland, by whom he had one son, named Thomas. His second wife was Isabel Hodgson, born in Lancaster, by whom he had three sons and one daughter. His wife had a brother named Hodgson, [who] was a merchant at York and Hull, who introduced his brother John Hodgson into the French trade, and also into the Virginia trade. They bought a Dutch prize-ship at Hull, and sent her to Virginia, one Waterland master. [She] was the first ship ever to this town from Virginia. And also several from Burdoux, with wine and brandy, and had good success; the customs being then low, and slightly looked after; they being in favour with the officers, paid little duty; so that he [John Hodgson] got into a great name and high living, and had great success for many years in the French and Virginia trade, and in the wholesale grocer and apothecary trade, the year 1681, when I came first to be an apprentice; and was preferred to be a justice of peace for the county; and about that time set up a sugar-house to refine sugar, and continued it twelve or fourteen years; but did not himself understand the art or mystery of it. He got refiners and distillers from London or Bristol, who kept him in ignorance of the mystery, so that it was supposed he suffered loss; and as we had then no raw sugars imported here from the plantations, he was obliged to have them from

Liverpool or Bristol. [He also got from Bristol one Peter Gordin, an excellent good spinner, roller, and cutter of tobacco; by which he got some hundred pounds a year. He built a house [which] cost him near £1,000.,] took some gentlemen's sons apprentices, who, with other servants, made too free with his wine cellars and warehouses; [and he came to that height of living, to cost him £500. a-year in entertaining all gentry who came to visit him. He had great success in the Virginia trade, in the beginning of King William's reign; but afterwards met with losses, but continued to live high, so that his credit began to decline, and his debts in the customs to increase.] Which when his wife, who was very high, perceived, it affected her so very much to be reduced that she died, for grief as was supposed. [And as he became pinched, he became litigious and quarrelsome with his tobaccoist Peter Gordin's executors, and spent many hundred pounds in law with them. One particular charge was £200. for tobacco stalks, they being of no value before the beginning of King William's reign, and suddenly advanced to 4d. or 5d. a lb. And before then Gordin had many tons of them crowded in his house, of John Hodgson's; which he desired him to take away, but he would not; but told Peter Gordin if he pleased he might burn them, or do what he pleased with them. Upon which Gordin sold them to Henry Casson for 40s., to burn into ashes for to make soap. After they had spent much time and money in the law, they referred it to arbitrators. John Hodgson brought in £200. for tobacco stalks as aforesaid, and some other extraordinary charges, which the arbitrators would not allow, nor for the stalks more than they were sold for,—so that the award was made in favour of Gordin's executors, which Hodgson would not comply with, his counsel telling him it was not drawn according to law. Upon which it came before the 12 judges at London, who were divided about it, and the major part were for confirming it; alleging that if awards should be rejected for not being drawn in due forms of law, it would much discourage arbitrations to honest country people, who best knew the merits of the cause, and the conscientious cause of the same. And upon the confirmation of the award, John Hodgson was imprisoned in Lancaster Castle, and, after some years, died.] He had mortgaged his estate in Lancaster to Sir Nicholas Sherburn for £500.; but at the same time was indebted to the crown a greater sum upon bond, for customs, upon which his estate was extended, and remains so—upon which, Sherburn lost all, and many other of his creditors. His oldest son, Thomas, above twenty years old, was sent a factor to Barbadoes, about the year 1694, and died there soon after his arrival. John, his eldest son by his second wife, he brought up a

gentleman, and bound him an apprentice to one Ball, an Italian merchant, with whom, as it was said, he gave £500., but he [the son] did not make any improvement, but died whilst he was young. His younger sons had good education and preferment, but died abroad when young. His only daughter, Isabel, was married to Edmund Cole, Esq., of Coat, who had one daughter by her, who grew up and was married to one Whitehead, of Claughton. The said Isabel lived fast, as the saying is, and died in a few years after marriage. [In the height of his [John Hodgson's] prosperity, it was not accounted of as a crime to bribe the officers of the customs, or defraud the king of his customs; which seldom or never improves men's estates, but rather is a canker to eat away that which is got by honest industry; which I have always observed, and never inclined to be concerned [in] or buy such goods. But now the customs is more narrowly inspected, nor is there now much attempts made by any merchants of reputation or good conscience.]

1704.—I being determined to go to our general yearly meeting at London this summer, which my neighbour Sarah Myers having knowledge of, was desirous to send her daughter Margaret along with me to London; and her brother Robert Lawson offered me a horse gratis, if I would take her behind me, which I accepted of, and we went forward about the middle of the third month. Her brother Joshua Lawson accompanied us to Warrington, he having then a son at Gilbert Thompson's school; and there we met with old Bryan Lancaster and his grandson Bryan, and Thomas Ellwood, all of Kendal, going to the said meeting, who were very good and agreeable company, and we got all well to London. I put up at the Swan Inn, in Lad Lane, and immediately conducted Margaret Myers to her uncle Willmer's, where she was kindly entertained. I was invited by Joshua Wilson, who married Thomas Green's daughter Elin, to lodge at his house, which I accepted of whilst I stayed in London. I did attend the said meeting, which continued four days, which was peaceable, unanimous, and satisfactory; and afterwards settled some accounts for myself and for Elizabeth Green, and performed some messages for my neighbours; and, after a week's stay there, returned with the aforesaid Kendal friends, and got home in good health, and found all well at home, to [my] satisfaction. At my return, I inspected my affairs as usual, yearly, in the fourth month, in money, debts, and credit, and estate whatever; and it appeared that, after what I was debtor to any person was deducted, there remains £1,181., which was very near the sum I computed clear in the year 1699; which was more than I could reasonably expect, considering that in this five years' time I had lost at least £400. by

merchandising, and at least £100. by insolvent debtors; and what employ I now had [was] by selling grocery goods by wholesale to country shopkeepers, without keeping an open shop.

It was now about the height of the war with France in Queen Anne's reign, and many victories obtained against the Spaniards and French, both by land and sea; and trade by sea well guarded by convoys, stationed from port to port: so that we got most of our goods by sea from London, in a moderate time, which, in King William's war, used to come by waggon to Standish, and from thence home by carts, which, in all from London, was in summer time from 5s. to 6s. 6d. a cwt.

About the 7th month this year, John Troughton, who had been my apprentice, was arrested for debt and made a prisoner, which for some time I had expected. He was indebted to Sir Thomas Johnson, of Liverpool, above £100., who, being at London, and hearing of his imprisonment, he sued out a commission of bankrupt against him, and sent it down by the post to me, desiring me to put it into the commissioners' hands, and that I would be an assignee, and take who I pleased in for a partner; but upon considering who were commissioners, and the charge attending the prosecution of it, I thought most of the effects would be spent. I acquainted John Troughton with it, and advised him to assign over all his effects to some trustees to be sold, and collected for the equal distribution of his creditors, and upon that I would put a stop to the statute of bankrupt, which he complied with, and made an assignment to me and two others, which all his creditors here were content with. And thereupon [I] answered Sir Thomas Johnson that I had received his letter and the commission, but had not delivered it to the commissioners, to save the expense of prosecuting it, and acquainted him that John Troughton had assigned over to me, and two others I named, all his effects, for the general and equal benefit of his creditors; and if he pleased to be content with that method, I would serve him and the creditors the best I could, but not otherways. And I had his answer that he was content with my proposal, and desired me to proceed in it accordingly, and keep the statute, first allowing him what charges he was at [in] taking it out, which was about £9., which the creditors was willing to allow; and the statute was kept, to induce any who were unwilling to come into the assignment to oblige them to it. And as he had been my apprentice, and the beginning of his credit by my recommendation, I thought myself obliged to use my endeavours to make the most for the creditors, and in order to it, got the tradesmen to value them [the effects] at such a price as not to encourage any stranger to buy them, which might be to their disadvantage; and in order to make the

most of them, I got them valued in small lots, and they were put upon a public sale; and in order to sell all, the order of the sale was, that if the second parcel did not exceed the price it was valued at, he that bought the first should have it as valued, and so successively; the last buyer to have the next, if no person exceeded what it was valued at. And to encourage the sale, I bid very often, and was holden in, so that most part of the goods came to me, which proved to the damage of the rest of the ironmongers, of whom Elijah Salthouse was the chief, who after was sensible of his mistake of letting me be the buyer. After John Troughton's goods were sold, and what money he had owing in his books collected, the whole amounted to about £430.; and upon his creditors bringing in their demands, his debts amounted to above £1,200., so that the division to each creditor was 6s. 8d. in the pound, and no more. They seemed well satisfied with the management, and he got his liberty, but made no good use of it to gain his reputation, or his credit, but continued to abuse his best friends and relations. His brother, Robert Troughton, was bound with him for £350., which drove him into great disorder, and obliged him to sell his estate to gain his liberty; so that John Troughton spent in seven years time £800., besides £900. his portion, and the profits of trade, which, when I turned the trade over to him, was worth £100. a-year. He roved about in the town and country some time, and after went to Liverpool and London. He could write and account well, and got to be a writer or steward in a ship upon a voyage to America; but he nor the ship ever returned, but supposed sunk at sea. His wife had no child, and was entertained by her parents, then living; and although she had no certain account of her husband's death, she married again in three or four years, to Thomas Muggalt, of Cockerham.

As the greatest part of his [Troughton's] goods came into my hands, as aforesaid, and as we had disposed of all Thomas Green's goods, and his shop [was] empty, I got the goods removed thither; and at the same time John Hull, who was then vicar of Walton, near Preston, and whose son John was apprentice to John Troughton, and had served him about five years, was desirous that I would take him for the remaining two years; for which I was very unwilling, considering how negligent his master had been in instructing or attending him, or showing him any good examples. But upon the urgency of his father, who was a sober man, and always had a good opinion of me, as I had of him, I condescended to take him for two years, and to have with him £30., and thereupon fit up the shop in the retail grocery and ironmonger trade, as I formerly had done. But the said apprentice had been so long without

good government or example, that he did not serve me so well for my benefit or his own, as I could have wished; which I feared and told his father before I took him, and advised him to dispose of him otherways. However, when he had done his service with me, his father gave him a sufficient stock to begin with, which he did, but was not diligent in his business. [He] married in a few years Elizabeth Lodge, the daughter of Thomas Lodge, schoolmaster, and overrun his credit in a few years, and broke, to the great grief of his father, who made out with his creditors honourably, and after got him a land-waiter's place in the Customs here, where he continued some years, till he contracted distempers by excessive drinking, till he died; leaving a widow and six children, mostly to the care and dependence of his father.

1705.—In the beginning of the 4th month this year, as usual yearly—(having then been about six months in the retail way of groceries and hardware, which was attended by John Hull aforesaid and my dear sister Elin on the market days, she was as active and capable in serving in the retail way as the apprentice,—I bought at John Troughton's sale goods to the value of £160., and supplied with what was wanting, but I was much employed in the warehouse on market and fair days);—I took an inventory of my goods and debts owing to me and what other effects I had, as also what I was owing to any one; and found, after I had deducted what I was in debt to any, that my real and personal estate in all amounted to £1,274., and my profit last year, errors and bad debts excepted, was £93.

In the 7th month this year, Henry Casson, innkeeper and chandler, died, aged about 55 years. He left a widow, and five sons, and one daughter. He got Jonathan Cawson, an attorney, to draw his will, who had more sense than integrity or solidity to make a will. Henry Casson had been a facetious and sociable companion over a quart of ale, as was his said clerk,—and, it was supposed, that he took the notes of it in intervals, so as to forget the preceding clauses; so that in the whole it was so confused that no man of the law could reconcile or make sense of it. However, he made his wife Mary whole executor of it, and named me and Henry Welsh in trust, to see his will truly performed, and an inventory was drawn, by which his personal estate appeared to be £548.; and he had an estate in houses and land, worth, at that time, £700. His widow administered, and took tuition of her children, and kept on the innkeeping, and making candles and soap, whilst she lived, which was six years after her husband; and made a will, and appointed me and Henry Welsh her executors, which we undertook; so that both her and her husband's wills came under our care, which we endeavoured to per-

him. Her eldest son William was brought up a sailor, and had suffered much hardship in the king's service in the wars; but after he was released, he was master of a ship about Cartmel, and in going in the boat to the ship, was by some sudden blast upset and drowned, in the time betwixt his father's and mother's death; and his sister Jennet died also in that time. John Casson, the eldest son then living, was at his father's death an apprentice to Henry Welsh, and was loose in 1709, two years before his mother's death, and was set up [in] trade for himself that year, with money advanced by his mother. Henry Casson's will was so confusedly drawn up, that no certainty could be drawn from it; upon which we got three or four persons of his most intimate acquaintance to advise with, to have their thought what was his real intent to be his will. And it was all our thoughts, that he intended his younger sons to have a share of his real estate, which his eldest son John complied with, to their mutual satisfaction, and the personal estate was equally divided among them all; but that was lessened £100. betwixt the father's and mother's death; partly, we thought, by permitting the son Thomas, in the soap and candle trade, who was not very diligent in his business, but went much a hunting and fishing. He married a daughter of Edward Carter, of Eillel, by whom he had a daughter; and he got a surfeit by hunting or fishing, which took him off suddenly. Jonathan Casson, the third son, was bound an apprentice to William Gradwell, grocer, of Preston; with whom was given 50 guineas. He served his apprenticeship to his master's satisfaction, and began trade for himself in Preston, but was not very active in it or obliging, and did not get in any great trade, and became careless; so that he left his trade, became insolvent, and died in a short time after, unmarried. Benjamin Casson, the youngest son, was bound an apprentice to Robert Atkinson, of Boulton, a tanner, whom he faithfully served, to his great commendation of all the neighbourhood, and when loose began for himself; but being of an easy and credulous disposition, he was put upon and defrauded, which brought him into distraction and despair, so as to be confined and bound, where he remained some years. But, upon his recovery he got a waiter's place in the customs, in Ribble, under the collector at Poulton. Henry Casson, their father, was a poor boy born: [he] got to be in the meanest employ with a candle-maker, but improved himself, and in time got into that trade. [He] was very facetious and obliging; married, and got to be town-sergeant; and, in the beginning of King James the Second's reign, in the year 1685, upon the Duke of Monmouth's invasion, he was, according to his office, commanded to proclaim him a traitor at the Market Cross, which he refused to do; upon which he was sent prisoner,

with several other supposed disaffected persons, to Chester Castle, and kept there till the Duke of Monmouth was defeated, taken, condemned, and beheaded.

1706.—Upon the 12th of 1st month, 1705-6, Elin Coward, widow of my master, Henry Coward, died; to whom I had paid £5. a year for seven years last past, for her thirds, or widow-right, of the house I bought, which was her husband's, which wholly cleared me of that charge. About this time I sent a small adventure of about £21. 10s. by William Fell, to Virginia, in the ship *Content*, for which I had a return of eight hogsheads of tobacco, for which I paid £9. 10s. a ton freight. Tobacco was then sold here at 2½d. a pound on board; so that I did not get above 40s. by the adventure in one year out of it; and it being then the height of the war, but no insurance made here then. In the 4th month as usual, I took an inventory of my effects, and found, after what money I owed, there remained £1,320. 1s. 3d.; which exceeded the last year's settlement £45. 14s. which was the last year's profit, but not so much as I expected, which happened by some losses, and I supposed some negligence of John Hull, who now was loose.

This year I removed from the shop [that] was Thomas Greene's, to my own shop, which Elijah Salthouse had been in seven years. He was uneasy at my beginning the ironmonger trade again; although he had the opportunity to prevent it, if he would have bought John Troughton's goods at a market price; but as the shop was my own, he had no reason to object why I should take it, being it joined to my dwelling house and cellars and warehouses I had before.

In this year Robert Mayor died; he was born in Boulton [le Sands], was a joiner and cooper by trade, and had followed it till he was 50 years of age, and kept house with his sister till she married, and at that age he married Elizabeth Walker, widow, at the Park Side, in Quarmore [Quernmoor] with whom he lived till he died, about 70 years of age. He was a discreet and cheerful man, and always ready to serve his neighbour or friend. He was for many years an assistant to Ann Baldwin, at the assizes, who entertained the judges. He had acquired some money by his industry, and was a cheerful contributor to such as were in want or [were] prosecuted for religion. As he had no child, he disposed of his substance equally to his relations, his friends, his wife, and the poor: He gave £10. to Boulton School, and charged his estate at Park Side with 20s. yearly for the putting forth an apprentice in Boulton every four years; and to his friends, the Quakers, £60. for the charitable uses of their society; and very good legacies to his wife and her daughter's children, of other religious professions. He was a man that I

should freely advise with upon any extraordinary occasion, and had benefit by him on a particular doubt.

In this year I had a parish apprentice put upon me, about ten years of age, John Robinson, son of James Robinson. I sent him to the free school for at least four years, and he learned well to the entering into Greek, and could write well. I bound him an apprentice to a worsted weaver; gave £4. with him, and found him clothes. He served his time, and then began trade for himself, but was not so industrious or careful as he ought; fell to drinking and broke; then went to London; got a wife and portion, which he spent, and left her, and went to America. He cost me at least £40.

1707.—In the 1st month this year, I took John Baynes, son of Joseph Baynes, of Strangerthwaite, near Sedber, an apprentice for seven years, with whom his father gave me £35. He was very young, could write well, and was [of] a brisk and active disposition. Being now settled, shop and house, and conveniences together, I was minded to make some small adventures to sea, and with several others freighted a new ship called the *Love*, James Hornby master, to Virginia. We sent about £500. worth of goods, and consigned them to Samuel Satterthwait, who went factor. The ship made her voyage in about eight months, [and] brought us in return about 200 hogsheads of tobacco, for which we paid 50s. a hogshead freight. The like tobacco was then sold here for 2½d. (twopence half-farthing) a pound; and upon making up the voyage it appeared, after commission and all charges paid, we did not get above £5. the £100. for being a year out of our money; and although at the height of the war, no insurance was then made, which if it had, would have exceeded the profit. About the same time I made a small adventure in a new ship called the *Success*, John Clarkson, master, to Jamaica, in cheese and candles, to the value of £40., consigned to the said master, who got safe to Jamaica and to a good market. He sold my goods for above £110., and purchased for it sugar, indigo, and pimento, to that value; but, upon his return, he was taken by a French privateer, and carried into the Isle of Cuba, where the ship and cargo was condemned and all lost, and no insurance made on her or cargo. The small success to Virginia, and the whole lost to Jamaica, wholly discouraged me from adventuring abroad. In the 4th month this year, as usual yearly, I took an inventory of my goods and all my effects and my credits, and found the same to amount, after my credits were deducted, to £1,371. 4s. 5d., which exceeded the last year's settlement for profit £51. 3s. 2d.

1708.—In the spring 1708, our meeting house not being capable to entertain the general meeting for the four northern counties, it was

resolved to pull it quite down and build it nigh double to what it was; which was committed to Robert Lawson's and my care; but the provision, payment and account was mostly under my care and management; and in the time of building, our meeting was kept in my dwelling house. We got it built and finished in about six months, with floor, seats, galleries and ceiling, to the general satisfaction of our friends in the county and others; the whole charge whereof was £180., which was thought moderate.

In the second month this year Mary the widow of Leonard Fell died, to whom Henry Coward had mortgaged the house I bought for the payment of £10. a year during their lives, or the longer liver of them. Hitherto I had [had] no benefit of the house any more than [if] I had been a farmer of it, paying the above £10. and to Henry Coward's widow £5. a year; both which I was now discharged of; so that the house stood me now to £310.,—that is £180. the first cost, and £60. for interest for the same till the widow died, and £70. laid out in additional building for my convenience.

My neighbour William Godsolve, who for some years had followed his trade of a draper and grocer reputably, but he being too forward in credit, was drawn into familiarity with some decayed popish gentry, particularly with one Askew, who married Esquire Gerlington's daughter of Therland Castle, and with Esquire Buller of Raneliffe, and others; and not only gave them large credit, but became bound with them to others for large sums, and drew him into costly treats, which much reduced his credit, and which caused him to be otherways very expensive and negligent, and his creditors urgent upon him; so that it was evident he could not continue his trade, or answer his creditors. Upon complaint of his wife, who was sensible of his extravagance and circumstances, their friends undertook to persuade him to assign over his effects to some persons in trust, for the payment of his just debts, or in proportion so far as they would extend to, and not to suffer them to be spent in suit by attorneys, whereby some got all and others nothing. And he, being then about to be committed to the county gaol, complied, and an assignment was made and executed to Thomas Medcalfe, Henry Welsh, and me, to sell and pay to all his creditors equally, provided all his creditors would comply to accept it, and thereupon discharge him. But as he was become sottish and insensible of his own interest, he was persuaded by some of his meanest creditors and companions not to comply; and he persuaded two of his creditors, both whose demands was not £20., and that thought not to be just debts, not to comply to come into the assignment, which all the rest of his creditors, to the sum of £1,400., complied

with;—so that, for want of a whole compliance, the assignment could not be proceeded upon. William Godsalve, and his two aforesaid creditors' obstinacy, put a stop to our proceeding by the assignment, to the great displeasure of most of the creditors. The principal of them were advised to sue out a commission of bankrupt against him; being, there appeared, no other way to keep the effects together, or to get him at liberty to endeavour to retrieve. Upon which a commission was sued out, and such commissioners were named that we could confide in not to cause any more expense than was absolutely necessary, and the same persons were appointed assignees, to whom the effects were consigned by the aforesaid assignment; who now took the effects into their management and made sales. But the said Godsalve was so rude and outrageous as to bring a sword to do mischief to the assignees and interrupt the sale, that they were obliged to apply to the commissioners to confine him to prison till the sale was over, and which was done. He had an estate at Yeland, which was also sold; and the amount of all, after the charge of commission and sale, amounted to 12s. in the pound, and his part for premium for giving in a full account came to about £20., which was paid him, it being all that he, his wife, and three children had to depend upon. But he continued obstinate and idle, and very abusive to his wife, who had been much concerned to reclaim him, and in endeavouring to get his debts paid, so as to get him clear. He after applied to the aforesaid gentry, who had been the principal in his ruin, who got him to be a servant in a draper and mercer's shop at Richmond, in Yorkshire, where he continued some years, and left his wife and children destitute of any subsistence, and left to the charity of her friends; who put forth her eldest son apprentice to Thomas Holme, of Flookbarrow, a shoemaker, who served his time, and after went to sea, and [was] shipwrecked and drowned. And their youngest child, a daughter, died soon after; so [they] had only one son, Henry, who his mother had to provide for, but never got any assistance from her husband, only had the premium money left for their relief; which, with her industry, she maintained her and her son upon for three or four years, till she was assisted by putting her in some more profitable employ, which she was capable to manage; having before marriage kept a milliner's shop to her profit and reputation. She was daughter of Henry Coward, and very dutiful and assistant to her mother, after her father died insolvent as aforesaid. She had also one sister called Rachel, who was not capable of employ, which she was assistant to.

In the latter end of 1707, Margaret Hynd, of Litledale, died, about a month after she had buried her only son, Richard Hynd. She made

a will, in which she named me and Elijah Salthouse executors in trust for her daughter Elizabeth, the wife of James Birket, of Wood, in Cartmell. Which will we undertook to execute, and took an inventory of her personal estate, which amounted to £470., which we were to manage for her said daughter's separate disposal, and take her receipt yearly as an approbation of our management. But her husband, James Birket, being then possessed of a very good estate, both real and personal, to the value of £100. a-year, and supposed to be improving and very capable to manage this concern,—we thought our trust was needless, and with the consent of his said wife, we assigned over the trust to him, and took yearly for some years a declaration in writing under his wife's hand, of her satisfaction of her husband's management of this concern; and it continued so for above 20 years. But in this time the said James Birket undertook merchandising and other projects he did not understand, and engaged in partnership with men of declining circumstances and expensive company, so as to waste his estate and what he had in trust for his wife, and became a bankrupt. Upon which we were called upon by his wife to produce her mother's will and inventory, and make claim of what was committed to our trust; which we were ready to do, but put it upon her to consider that [as] she always acknowledged her satisfaction in her husband's management, and never intimated to us any dissatisfaction or danger before he became insolvent or a bankrupt,—it would not be taken well by the creditors, or commissioners of bankrupt, to make a demand of it;—which, having considered of with her sons, who were at age, she and they gave us a discharge, and did not make any demand of it before the commissioners; which was much to her reputation, considering that her husband had with her a good portion at marriage, and at her brother's death a good estate; in all, first and last, the value of £2,500., and in making up the bankruptcy there was no more than 5s. for the creditors. I note this as a caution to trustees.

About this time William Gunson, of Fenam Carr, in Lancaster, aged above 80 years, and Elizabeth his wife, under 40 years of age, died both in a month. They had been married but a few years, and left a son [who] was an idiot. The wife was the survivor. He made a will, and made his wife executor, and Robert Lawson and me in trust to assist her in performing it; and she made a will confirming her husband's, and appointed her sister Kathren her executor, and guardian or tutor of her son the idiot; and as the old man had engaged most of her effects in mortgages with persons of declining circumstance, we had some trouble and care to get accounts settled for some years; till the said Kathren

married John Patchet, who undertook the care of the effects, and also the maintenance of the idiot, who lived to the age of twelve years, and then died.

My dear mother was now about 76 years of age, and dwelt with my brother Josias as his housekeeper, and was become very infirm and uneasy with the care of the house, and was urgent on him to marry, he not being willing to keep house with a servant. Thereupon, with his mother's consent and approbation, he married Sibill Green, daughter of Thomas Green, of Boulton Homes, a neighbour. My brother Josias was about 48 years of age, and his wife about 30 years of age, and my mother seemed well satisfied with the marriage; but when the young wife came to housekeeping, my mother thought to have some direction in that more than the young wife (who had been her father's housekeeper) would allow; which made their mother uneasy, and in a year's time my brother Josias desired me to entertain her, which I freely offered to do; so she came to me and my sister and dwelt with us in much concord and unity till the time of her death, which was about eight years, without any consideration except what my brother Josias would freely offer, who was a quiet and easy man; his wife being of a resolute disposition, and he was very condescending, for peace sake. They continued married about 28 years, but had no child in all that time, nor did much to improve their estate; and as they had no child, she took all opportunities to improve her own relations and treat her friends at pleasure, more than would have been allowed by most husbands—he being very condescending.

1709.—In the fourth month this year, as usual, I made an inventory of my goods and money owing, and the rest of my effects, and also what I was debtor to any person; and after deduction of what I owed, there remained my present estate, £1,442. 11s. 9d., and what my estate was settled at last year was £1,371. 4s. 5d., so that my advance in trade the last year was £71. 7s. 4d. In the second month [April] this year, I went to Sheffield by way of Leeds, for during the wars we had no Swede iron but from Leeds, by horse-pack carriage; so [I] bought iron and settled accounts there. At Sheffield I bought what goods I had occasion for, ready money, and took the names of the makers, so as after to order what I had occasion for; and gave orders to Samuel Shoore to take them in and pack them, and send them to me, allowing him a small sum as commission; and continued so ever after for many years, without the trouble or charge of a journey thither.

In this year, Elin Jaynson, who was Henry Coward's mother, died; who was debtor to her at his death £100., most of which she got, and

therewith took a lease of a tenement for her daughter Mary and two grandchildren's lives; and at her death made her will, and appointed me her executor in trust, to manage the tenement in trust for her daughter Mary Coward, who was an idiot, and near 60 years of age. I let the tenement to Pearce Patchet, and boarded her with her sister Elin Simpson, and had much trouble with the concern, particularly in the year 1716, about the time of the rebellion; the landlord, Esquire Dalton, being actually in the rebellion, and convicted upon it. His estate was forfeited to the king, which caused the charge and trouble to the tenants to prove their leases. And a committee of parliament came to Preston, whither all persons in the county who were tenants, or had any claim upon the persons convicted, were to appear to prove their leases or claim before that committee. In pursuance of which I went to Preston, to prove this lease, and make good our claim to this tenement, which I did. Mary Coward overlived her mother about twelve years, and was about 70 years old when she died, and was the last life in the lease; the other two, who were near 40 years younger than her, died before her, and the tenement [was] leased by Edmund Gartside, a favourite of Esquire Dalton's; who after redeemed his estate, which was entailed, and he only tenant for his life, for which he gave the government £6,000.

In this year my trade was very good, and at this time tobacco was at least one-third part of what I sold in a year, and the most profitable; especially when we had opportunity to buy it on board, and have entry of it, and pay the custom ourselves at the Custom house, which we had this year, and I bought betwixt 20 and 30 hogsheads. At this time there were very great allowances for damage; if but 11lb. damage upon a hogshead, we had 10lb. allowed for it duty free, and so in proportion. If 20lb. damage, 100lb. allowed for it, and to some 200lb. allowed; so that in the main we reckoned we got a halfpenny a lb. in the whole upon allowance for damage; and as we endeavoured to pay most of the duty ready money, we had halfpenny a lb. allowed for that; which reduced the price. And at that time we sold most of our tobacco in roll, spun up, and took out part of the stalks; but, with the addition of wetting it to make it work, we usually got 8lb. or 10lb. weight back in roll, more than the leaf sent in to spin; all which was an addition to the profit of it. Also iron was one-fourth part of our sale; but as we had our Swede iron from Leeds, it lessened our sale towards Yorkshire, the best of our customers buying it at Leeds or Settle; and we sold a good quantity of our own country iron made at Cartmel and Furnas. But at this time there was none made but in the Bloomery way, which would be no nails; the furnace being not then erected in which it was first run into pigs,

and after drawn into bars, and made fit to work into nails, or any other slender or pliable work. And great quantity of the pigs [were] sent into Bristol and Wales, to be there drawn into bars, and slit into nail rods, as good as Swede or any other iron. At this time, not above one-fourth part of the sugar [was] consumed here, as has been since; and above half the sugar imported into this kingdom was exported to Holland, Germany, and the northern kingdoms; and, during the war, the French was supplied with sugar and tobacco, by prizes taken from us by their privateers, to our great loss. But about this time England had got ships of good force, who not only were good sailors, but made good reprisal from the French, so as to equal our losses to our reprisals, and discourage their privateers.

At the close of this year, or beginning of the next, as usual yearly, I took a schedule or inventory of my shop, warehouses, and debts, owing to me, and the rest of my effects, and also of what money I was owing to all and every person, which I deducted out of my effects; and found that my clear estate, casualties excepted, was £1,574. 15s. 10d.; and I found that my estate last year, as then stated, was £1442. 11s. 9d.; so that my advance or profit in this one year was £132. 4s. 1d., which is more than I could have expected, having had several losses. But this year I received £20. of Joseph Bayns with his son, now apprentice with me, and hopeful.

1710.—In this year Ann Greenwood, daughter of Augustine and Alice Greenwood, was married to Ralph Spencer, merchant, in Leeds, to whom her mother was recommended by some of the presbyterian preachers, as an able man, great dealer, and religious; but I had a different account of him, which I acquainted her mother of in time; which he was sensible of and would never after be familiar with me; but my intelligence proved too true. At my buying her goods, besides the ready money paid, I gave her my bond for £200., for which I paid her interest eight years, and now I paid the principal, which, with a bond paid last year, is all I paid interest for; so that now my estate was clear from interest or any annuities or other debt, except what is common to merchants or trade.

In this year, Robert Swift, my tenant, in Back Lane, who rolled and cut my tobacco, left that house, and upon that I employed John Marshall to do that work for me; and as my trade seemed to increase, and my dear sister growing infirm, and not so capable to assist in the shop as usual, I got the said John Marshall to assist in the shop on the market and fair days,—who was faithful and diligent, and for the same gave him only 6d. a day, and continued so many years.

In this year I settled account, and paid Peter Heys, who married Margaret Johnson, all that was due to her, according to her father's will, and

got their full discharge; but was sorry for her misfortune in her marriage of an indolent man, who quickly wasted her fortune, which was the issue of her abrupt leaving me, and putting herself under the guardianship of Charles Owen, the famous presbyterian preacher at Warrington, who after an expensive education of her, procured to her this husband, and knowing his circumstances and indolency.

In this year Joseph Wilkinson married Bethia Green, daughter of Thomas and Elizabeth Green, of Lancaster, and upon stating accounts according to her father's will, had her portion paid, but the same had not been improved, and he had not much of his own. They entered upon the chandler or cheesemonger trade, in London, but failed in a few years; soon after which she died and left one child, which became a charge to her relations and friends. The above being what I have to note this year.

1711.—In the fourth month next [this] year, I made a schedule or inventory, as usual yearly, of all my goods and money owing me, and estate whatever, and also what I was debtor to any person; which being deducted, there remained for the present value of my estate, £1,704. 5s. 3½d.; and at settling the same last year the clear value was £1,574. 15s. 10d.; so that my profit or advance in this one year was £129. 9s. 5½d. In this state I have omitted all the debts I think may not be got.

This year Joseph Green sold his land: he had above £200. some years since out of his father's personal estate; but as his real estate was invested in Robert Lawson and me by his father's will, by which his mother was to have the profits of half of it during her life, we could not join in the sale of it till she had security for the same, upon which her son Joseph and sons-in-law, Joshua Willson and Joseph Wilkinson, gave her their joint bonds to pay her £15. yearly during her life; upon which, and paying his sisters £100. the estate was charged with, it was sold in parcels, all but the house and an old kiln, and the money was remitted to him to London. But soon after he became very negligent in his trade, and expensive and sottish; so that in two years after he broke, in debt some hundred pounds more than he had to pay; and he had also assigned over the house and kiln to Gilbert Higginson, for a debt owing him; but we kept possession of them for his mother's annuity, and some money due to his sister Elizabeth; and in about seven years the rent cleared them. In the meantime, Gilbert Higginson had assigned over to one Jonathan Forward, who sold them to Thomas Postlethwaite. Some time after, Joseph Green went to Barbadoes, but made no improvement, and died there about the year 1720; and about seven years after his mother's death.

In this year William Coward, a tailor, died, about 60 years of age, and left one son, William, aged about 30 years. He had a house in lease from Alexander Rigby, of Layton, for his own and his said son William's life, worth about £7. a-year, and about £50. in money and goods. He made his will, and made me and Samuel Satterthwaite his executors in trust for his son, who was not of government to manage it himself. He was brought up with his father at his trade, and was an industrious workman, but could not bear to drink strong drink, a little of which did distract him, so that he would spend what he had and treat anybody, and in that condition got roaring about the town loudly as a madman; so that his father gave us power, by his will, not to give him anything but at our discretions. He would have contracted debts, or be engaged with any; but we gave public notice to all, that we would not pay any debts he contracted, and that, if he was made a prisoner, we would maintain him there where he might work. We had much trouble to keep him clear for some years. He was a good workman, and very quiet, and was fully employed; but when he had earned about 10s. he was invited by some ill-designing people to take a pot of ale, and that forwarded him to treat all: so that in one day he would spend all, and for some days go roaring about town like a madman. We maintained him with clothes and victuals when at home, out of the interest of his money and the house-rent; and, with good management, kept what his father left, in order to maintain him when he came to old age.

This year, John Booth was discharged out of the Queen's service. He was a remote relation to me; and, about the year 1698, I took him to be an apprentice in the ship Employment, in which he served till she was lost; upon which I got him into Sir Thomas Johnson's service in the ship Great Elizabeth, out of which first voyage he was pressed into the Speedwell man-of-war, in which he was advanced in good trust, till he was made chief mate of her, and continued in that station till this year, when he wanted his health, otherways might have been further promoted, as his certificate at his discharge implied;—having discharged his trust faithfully in several engagements with the French privateers, several of which and merchant ships they had taken. In this service, he had improved himself so much that he brought home £200., with which he purchased an estate in Slyne from Anthony Caton; and, some years after, married Margaret Craven, of whom he had two sons and one daughter; but would not go to sea again, although good employ offered him; and he after became irregular in his living, and quarrelsome when in liquor, and died before he had wasted his estate. He was no scholar or writer, when he went first to sea; but got his knowledge by his own industry.

About the close of this year, considering that Elin Godsalve, the wife of William Godsalve, was out of business, and her husband being at Richmond, and out of his wages there, made her no assistance, so [she] was a charge, and her son, to her friends, and yet capable of business, which considering, I took a shop for her at the south-east corner of the Cheany [China] Lane, and put her in it about £10. value of grocery goods, and other small ware, at the first cost—to pay me when she could well. And she being well known, and not blameable for her husband's miscarriage, she had quickly good custom by retail, and diligently attended both day and night, and sold by retail as much as any shop in the town. I gave her liberty as money came in, to buy in goods with ready money, without paying me till she could safely do it; so that she got into a good stock, and improved herself very much for two or three years; which, when her husband understood, he came home and entered upon her trade, in order to manage it, but in a little time fell into the company of his old companions and expensive living; not suffering her to manage it, and lost her customers, and spent what she had got, and then left her with two more children, born both at one birth, in little more than a year's time after his return. At the end of this year, as usual yearly, I took a schedule, &c., and after I had deducted what I owed, there rested £1,804. 13s. 1d., and at the settling the same last year, it appeared to be £1,704. 5s. 3½d.; so that what I have advanced this year, errors excepted, is £100. 7s. 9d.

1712.—In the year 1704, my cousin, Thomas Willson, of Kendal, was desirous to have his son Peter preferred to some business in London, upon which I recommended him to Thomas Crosby, a drysalter, in the Borough in Southwark, whither he went, and was bound apprentice to him, and served him faithfully seven years, and this year began same trade for himself, and very hopefully. I bought of him what goods I had occasion for in his trade, and he bought for me other goods I had occasion for, so as [that] he had some hundred pounds a year from me for about five or six years to my satisfaction and his benefit. He was very exact in his accounts; but in the year 1718, he became incapable of his business, and became lunatic, and would give his goods about him, so that his friends shut up his shop, and confined [him] and gave his parents notice of it, who sold his goods, and got him to Kendal, where he continued incapable, and talked impertinently, rambled in the streets and fields, and often went to London in a week, at 5s. expense, and after rambling there a few days, came down again in the same time on foot, and often in the winter time, in bad apparel. His father settled a good annuity on him for his life, whereby he might have lived comfortably;

but he continued in this distracted condition many years, till he died ; but was always quiet and content with such meat and clothes as was provided for him, but never sat at meals, so took his meat when he pleased, and at some times would talk and discourse very sensibly.

In this year Andrew Lawton, of Skerton, smith, died ; [he] left four children, but little provision for them. He made a will, and made John Anyon and me his executors. What he left clear after his debts were paid, was but about £20. One of his sons was put to sea service, and went to sea, but neither ship or he ever heard of ; supposed sunk. The other son [was] put to a tailor, and served his time. Two daughters got to service, so that in about six years we fulfilled our trust, and had their discharges to their satisfaction.

In the 12th month this year Alderman Thomas Medcalfe died, who was joint executor with me in John Johnson's will about eighteen years since ; which I was mostly active in, but not yet finished, and as he was sensible what care had been taken in it, now when he was weak, he sent his brother Alderman Westmore to me, desiring me to undertake a trust from him in his will ; to which I returned that I would freely undertake a trust, but not an executor, being sensible that a great trouble would attend it ; but what Westmore told him as my answer I know not. However he died soon after, and I was at his burial. In two days after I was sent for by his daughters, and they produced his will, which, being read, his brother Westmore and I was named joint executors of it, which I was much surprised at and much troubled at, and unwilling to be active in. Some time before he died he sent his eldest son Thomas to London, to be preferred by his cousins George and Francis Metcalfe. The first was solicitor for the commissioners of the customs in London, and the latter collector of the customs at Southampton,—who got him instructions in the managing that business, and in the beginning of this year procured him the place of collector of the customs at Penzance, in Cornwall, worth £100. a-year, and also of the salt duty, worth £50. a-year. We took the first opportunity to write to his said son, and sent him a copy of his father's will, desiring him to come hither to undertake the trouble of it, and that we would assign over our power to whom he would employ to act in it. We had his answer excusing his coming down, and that he could not expect the commissioners would admit it, so soon after he had entered upon his office ; and [he] desired us to execute the will, and he would be very well content with our management, and come here in a short time to ease us of our trust ; which we too easily confided, and were too forward to act in. Thereupon we got his personal estate appraised, made an inventory, and got the will proved and administered. His personal

estate was appraised at £700., and his freehold estate in Lancaster about £60. a-year, and his estate in Ellel, in lease from the Lord Molineux, about £35. a-year, and he owed about £600. on bond, and the legacies in his will £550., so that his personal estate was at least £300. short of paying debts and legacies. We had a power by the will to sell land to pay debts and legacies, which paid off his trade debts and part of his bond debts; but [were] not willing to sell any lands, expecting, considering what station he was in, that he might have cleared his estates, which was worth £100. a-year; and in order to keep the estate together I sometimes advanced £100. of my own money to make all easy. He left three sons and four daughters. The eldest daughter, Judith, was married to Thomas Holme, the schoolmaster and curate at Lancaster. The second daughter, Elizabeth, was married to Robert Winder, a draper;—both their portions to pay. His second son, William, was brought up at sea, very hopeful and improving. His legacy of £50. we paid, and soon after [he] died, upon a Guney [Guinea] voyage. His youngest son and two daughters were under age, and we got them good education. George we sent him to his brother at Penzance, and from thence to London, but could not get him fixed to good business; and Margaret cost us much money for education, but was not of so good government as to settle to business, but married poorly at London. Dorothy, the youngest, we placed her an apprentice to Ann Whittham, a milliner, with whom we gave £20.; and her maintenance in her apprenticeship cost us much more. She was of little stature and very modest and hopeful, but had an unfortunate marriage, which brought her to hardship.

This year Henry Welsh, who was my particular acquaintance, and who I accompanied with and diverted ourselves in walking abroad, and was my partner in trust for Henry and Mary Casson's children, married John Foxcroft of Littledale's daughter and only child, with whom he got £5,000. fortune, and gave over his trade, having improved himself in it, and turned over his shop to Robert Winder; who continued in it some time, but made no improvement in it,—him who married Alderman Metcalfe's second daughter, Elizabeth.

1718.—At the beginning of this year, as usual yearly, I took an account of all my effects, real and personal, and find the same to be £2,107. 4s. 11d., and that I owe to sundry persons in all £174. 10s., which deducted [there] remains £1,932. 14s. 11d.; last year, my estate was, £1,804. 13s. 1d.; so that what I have advanced this year is £128. 1s. 10d.

In the fourth month this year, I went to London, in order to attend our general meeting there, this month, at the usual time, accompanied

with John Danson and James Birket, directly; only stayed a meeting at Coventry. I put up my horse at the Cross Keys in Gracious-street, where my countryman John Lawson was chief hostler; but I went to lodge with my cousin Peter Willson, in the Borough, in Southwark, and I attended the said meeting, which continued two weeks, occasioned by reason the act for the Quakers' solemn affirmation instead of an oath, was near expiring, and to consider how to solicit to have it renewed to the satisfaction of the whole of our society; but as now the high party, who was not all well affected to us, had the ascendant in parliament, and with the Queen, it was by most friends thought most proper to let it expire, and wait for an opportunity to get it renewed to the satisfaction of all. But friends in London and thereaway were for the present solicitation, which was condescended to, and a solicitation made to the parliament, to the cost of many hundred pounds, but to no effect; being that most of our friends in the late elections for members of parliament had voted against the now prevailing party in parliament, which was not acceptable. As now a peace with France was concluded and free passage by sea, I bought a good quantity of goods, and ordered them by sea. I was never before this above eight days in London, and now fifteen, in which I was much tired and indisposed, and this was the last journey I made to London. I came out of London on the first day of the week [Sunday], at four in the morning, and through Lombard-street and Cheapside, without scarcely seeing any person; which was surprising to me, considering how those streets are crowded in the day time and evenings. I called in Aldersgate-street for Gilbert Thompson, who accompanied me to Warrington. When we got to Highgate, the country air refreshed me wonderfully. We came to St. Alban's in time to their meeting, which we attended, and, after the meeting, came to Hockley, where we lodged, and the next night at Coventry, and the next night at Stone, and from thence to Warrington, where Gilbert Thompson left me, and I came that evening to Newton, and next day home—in all five days—in good health, and found all well and in health. This year, Elizabeth Green, the widow of Thomas Green, died, having survived her husband ten years, and seen most of his effects sold and spent; only we kept the house in pledge for some legacies due to her daughter Elizabeth and granddaughter Ann Borrow. She had but received one year's annuity from her son Joseph, who the next year broke.

1714.—On the 1st day third month this year, I let Joseph Green's house to Thomas Croft, for four years, at £6. 15s. a-year, for his assignees. In the twelfth month, 1713, James Fenton (who had the degree of D.D., aged about 60 years, had been the priest of this parish about 28 years),

died, who had been a man of a high and austere deportment, and disdained all protestant dissenters. He was not given to hospitality, but a great exacter of his demands from his own poor hearers and dissenters, by prosecution at law, and affected rather to be feared than loved by his parishioners, and was not loved by them. He died of a long and lingering distemper, and very much indisposed of mind. He wanted the charity that becomes all men, and much more a minister of the gospel. He was succeeded by his son James, and [who had] much of his disposition.

Upon the 1st day of the sixth month this year, Queen Anne died, having reigned near thirteen years. In the first eight years, whilst Prince George of Denmark lived, she governed very steadily with the council King William left her, and had very great success in the war with France and Spain, in conjunction with her alliances the Emperor of the United Netherlands and other confederates,—so far as to bring them to crave for peace. But after the Prince of Denmark's death, she hearkened to new councillors, who did suggest to her that the war would ruin the nation, and [that] her ministry had brought the church into danger by encouraging schismatics and atheists; and many of the bishops and priests infused the same notions into the common people. It was also supposed she was advised that she usurped the power which was due to her pretended brother, pretended son of her father James II. She entered into a separate treaty with France, without her allies, which was a reproach to her kingdom, and giving away the good success of her armies, and many millions of money spent in vain, and left her allies in great distress. She dissolved her parliament, and called another, which complied with her, through the false surmises of the bishops and clergy. But the house of lords were steady for the succession of the crown in the house of Hanover. She changed her ministry, and she obtained a bill in the parliament to prohibit all dissenters from the Church of England to keep a school, or suffer their children to be taught by any but who were conformists in all respects to the church; which the queen passed into a law a little before her death—which was an undermining the toleration act, and as ill as repealing it. It was to commence the 1st August, the day the queen died, and so was never put in execution.

This year my apprentice, John Baynes, had served his time to my content. He was a bold and enterprising youth, and I gave him liberty in his apprenticeship to buy and sell some odd goods I did not deal in. I always told his father that I thought he would not be confined to a shop so much as our trade required. His father proposed to me to take my shop and goods for him, if I would give over trade, which I had some inclination to do, and consulted my sister thereupon, which my then

maid servant hearing, said—"Master, I advise you not to give over trade; if you do, you will repent of it." Which I took so much notice of as to consider more diligently, and, after [my] resolve to continue the trade, John Baynes took a shop near me, which he did not keep two years, till he became acquainted with a young widow at Sunderland, in the bishopric of Durham, daughter of Lancelot Wardall, of that town, whom he married, and then sold his effects here, a good part of which I bought. He went to Sunderland, and fell into his father-in-law's business of fitting ships with coals and building ships, being stirring employment suitable for him, and by which he improved himself, and built so many houses as to have a street called Baynes-street. And although he was very active, he grew very fat or corpulent, and died about the 40th year of his age.

At the same time that John Baynes was loose, I took to be an apprentice John Goad, son of Joseph Goad, of Beacliffe, with whom I had £35., his father to provide him all clothes, to serve seven years. This summer was very droughty and sickly. My sister, besides many other distempers, had a violent fever, and for some time did not expect her recovery. Also my mother was much out of health, and the rest of the family; but I had my health very well.

In the 7th month this year, King George arrived in England. He landed at Greenwich the 18th, where he rested two nights, and then was conducted through London, attended by 220 noblemen's coaches, in six hours, amidst great crowds of spectators, supposed one million, to St. James's. Upon his entering upon council, he declared that he would maintain the toleration to protestant dissenters, as by law settled, which gave great satisfaction to all well-wishers of the the nation's true interest.

By sundry obstructions, and particularly the management of Thomas Medcalfe's affairs, I was hindered taking the account of the state of my affairs for the years 1712, 1713, and 1714; which I did the close of this year, and found the whole of my effects to amount to £2,604. 14s. 6d., and that I was debtor to sundry persons in all £179. 2s. 9d., which being deducted, there rested £2,425. 11s. 9d.; and at the last stating, three years ago, my clear estate was £1,032. 14s. 11d.; so that my advance in the three years last past is £492. 16s. 10d., errors and bad debts excepted.

1715.—There being now an open and free trade by sea, I made an adventure to Barbadoes this year, in the ship *Love*, and consigned to John Bowes, who went merchant in her, who made the voyage in good time, and me returns in sugar, ginger, and cotton wool; and upon

stating the account I did not find that the profit was above £10. the £100. for profit for money laid out for a year,—a [profit for the] risk which I thought was too little to encourage adventure any further; so did not consider myself any more in merchandise, nor by sea, but by freight from London, Bristol, or Liverpool, for goods bought there; and had not any loss that way during the war in Queen Anne's reign.

King George was crowned the 20th day of the 8th month, and the parliament was dissolved, and a new one called, who sat in the 1st month this year, and chose Spencer Compton speaker. Most of them were well affected to the king, and a secret committee appointed to examine into the conduct of the late ministry, who sat some months before they brought in their report; so that the disaffected insulted [them], and said they could not find any criminals. But upon their report there appeared so much, that the Duke of Ormonde, Lord Bulinbrook, and several other lords and gentlemen fled the realm, and Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford, was committed to the tower. This so enraged the high church party, that they studied revenge, and plotted to bring in the pretender. Their plot first broke out in Scotland, headed by the Earl of March, who was stopped by the Duke of Argill, and another part in Northumberland, headed by the Earl of Daranwater [Derwentwater] and Brigadier Macantosh, and were met at Preston, and most taken prisoners; several shot, beheaded, and hanged,—which much silenced the clamours of the clergy. The parliament quickly repealed the act the queen passed last year, titled "To prevent the growth of schism," and confirmed the Toleration Act, and also renewed the law for the quakers' solemn affirmation instead of an oath; to be renewed and made perpetual, and also to have the privilege of giving their votes in elections of members of parliament, upon their affirmation as aforesaid; which was denied them in the last years of Queen Anne,—being that in the elections in the late years of Queen Anne they had generally appeared and voted on all occasions for the succession of the crown in the house of the Elector of Hanover. I make the above observations, being it was a time of trial, and in fear that the Scots and northern rebels would have plundered us; but they were civil, and to most paid for what they had; but I had five of the Macantosh officers quartered on me two days, but took nothing of them.

Upon the 21st day of the 6th month this year, Lewis XIV., king of France, died, aged 77 years: [he] had reigned 72 years. He buried his only son and his eldest grandson and youngest grandson and eldest great grandson, all in two or three years before his death, and was succeeded by his great grandson Lewis XV., aged five years, under the guardian-

ship of his uncle the Duke of Orleans. Lewis XIV. came to the crown at five years of age, and when he came to age was very ambitious and quarrelsome, and made strong war with all his neighbours, and enlarged his dominions in Flanders and Germany; and in the year 1685 revoked the edict of Nantz, and prosecuted his protestant subjects, to the confiscation of their estates, and to banishment or perpetual imprisonment, and to death, in a barbarous manner; being instigated by the Jesuits. He was dreaded by all his neighbours, which brought them into a confederacy in the year 1688, to reduce him by force. He defended himself against England, Holland, Germany, and Spain, for nine years in King William's reign, without losing any of his former conquests; and after four years he renewed the war against England, Holland, and the Emperor of Germany, in Queen Anne's reign, for ten years, in which he was reduced and lost most of his new conquests and impoverished his subjects, and tired of the war. He was seized with a gangrene in his legs and lower parts, which got up into his body, which brought him into great pain and torment, and into such a loathsome condition as hardly to be endured by his attendants; and showed great remorse for the cruelties he had been the occasion of,—exhorting his successor to more mercy and compassion.

In the first month this year died Thomas Wither, of Over Kelet, aged above 70 years; left a widow, but no children. He was possessed of a freehold estate of £50. a-year and a good personal estate. He made a will and left his wife his personal estate, and also his real estate during her life; and after her death he gave to the value of £10. a-year to his cousin Robert Wither, his next relation, and about the same yearly value to me, William Skirrow, and two others, in trust to us and our assigns, for some charitable uses, as he verbally directed to me; and the rest of his estate he gave to the town; the yearly profit to be applied to the putting-out poor children to apprenticeship. He was a man of very extensive charity to all people, and had the character from every one of a very honest and virtuous man, and his loss was lamented by all his neighbours, and of all religious professions.

1716.—My dear mother, Elizabeth Stout, being much impaired in her health by the hard frost this winter, insomuch as scarcely to get heat; but the latter part of the twelfth month, at the opening of the weather, got some strength, by which we hoped she might get strength. But at the beginning of the first month was suddenly in a frosty night, which took away her strength and made her incapable to assist herself. She kept her bed, but took her food and slept well till the 5th, when the pains of death seized her, and continued working for death till next day,

being the 6th day of the 1st month, 1715-16, and the third day of the week [Tuesday], and then expired about the eleventh hour before noon, in the 84th year of her age, and was carried from my house in Lancaster the next day, to my brother Josias's house at Boulton Holmes, and from thence buried at Boulton on the eighth day, being where her husband and our father was buried, as was her desire. She was left a widow by my father in the first month in the year 1680-1, and had so remained 35 years, with six children,—two of the youngest died within three months of their father; and I am in duty obliged to testify of her that she was always a tender, careful, and provident mother to her children, and took great pains to improve her children. She kept house till her youngest son Leonard was at age, and then divided her substance equally among them; but reserving an annuity sufficient for herself, but never called for it, only to answer her necessities, which was very frugal. She remained with her son Josias as his housekeeper till he married, which was in 1710, and then came to my house to dwell with me and her daughter Elin, where she remained till her death as aforesaid. In her last four years she was often seized with falling fits [which] made her insensible for about a quarter of an hour, and upon her recovery knew nothing of them. She continued to spin till within four months of her death. Her disposition was always affable and courteous, and very neighbourly and charitable, to the poor, or to such as so pretended, minded her own affairs, and not talkative in matters not concerning her. She frequented the episcopal worship whilst at Boulton, but when she came to Lancaster, frequented the Presbyterian worship, but minded more how people lived more in the practice than the profession of religion, and she read much in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, and was not offended at me or my sister's entering into the communion with the people called quakers, believing that we were convinced that it was our duty to do so.

The sharp frost last winter was succeeded by a sickly spring, when many died of strong fever. My apprentice, John Goad, was seized in the second month this year with a violent fever; was not to be kept in bed but by force, for a week; but in time he recovered, but slowly.

And upon the first day of the fifth month this year, Alderman Wm. Penny died; left his estate, both real and personal, worth above £2,000. to the use of the poor, and building houses for the habitation of 12, which by his executors was done in the Back Lane, and about £3. each a-year, for their subsistence for ever.

Last year and this was a time of much trouble and danger, on account of the rebellion, in which we were in fear of being plundered, or worse;

but Almighty Providence preserved us. After the rebellion at Preston was suppressed, about 400 of them were brought to Lancaster Castle, and a regiment of dragoons quartered in the town to guard them. The king allowed them each 4d. a-day for maintenance, viz. : 2d. in bread, 1d. in cheese, and 1d. in small beer; and they laid in straw in the stables, most of them, and in a month's time about 100 of them were conveyed to Liverpool, to be tried, where they were convicted, and near 40 of them hanged at Manchester, Liverpool, Wigan, Preston, Garsting, and Lancaster; and about 200 of them continued a year, and about 50 of them died, and the rest were transported to America; except the lords and gentlemen, who were had to London, and there convicted, and their estates forfeited. Whilst they were here I was employed to buy cheese for them, about two or three cwt. a week, of about 12s. or 14s. a cwt. Besides the king's allowance, they had supplies privately from the papists and disaffected, so as to live very plentifully. This year provisions were plenty and cheap, as also corn and hay, and although a regiment of dragoons was quartered here all the winter, hay was as cheap at the spring as at the fall. And although it was hard upon innkeepers, it was a profit to the country, and it was computed that the dragoons and prisoners maintained this year amounted to at least £3,000.

We were in such hurry and danger this and last year, that I had not opportunity to take account of my effects for last and this year; which I now at the end of this year did, for the years 1715 and 1716, and found the whole to [amount to] £3,141. 8s. 11d., and that I was debtor to sundry persons in all £346. 15s. 11d., which deducted, [there] rested £2,794. 8s., and at the state taken two years since the balance was £2,425. 11s. 9d., so that my improvement these two years was £368. 16s. 3d.; which advance I am to be thankful for to divine providence, being there was much hazard of losing more than the profit, if not all.

1717.—The nation seems now to be settled and quiet from the late disturbance; and magistrates [are] changed, but not for the better in this town, who pretend to be loyal, yet oppress some of the best friends of the king. James Fenton now prosecutes his neighbours the Quakers for tithe, before Charles Rigby and Thomas Shearson, justices, for small tithes for two years, of about 4d. a-year, in two actions; who grant him costs, each 9s. 6d.—the law not allowing above 10s. [costs] under £10. proved; and for about £20. demanded, granted £10. costs; when the justices, turned out for disloyalty, did not allow him the tenth part so much for the like demand; which shows their insincerity.

The King of Sweden seizes all our ships he meets with in the Baltic Sea, and all commerce with Sweden [being] interrupted, has caused their

iron to advance here from £16. to £24. a ton; which has induced this country to build furnaces here to run iron, which makes it as good as Swedish iron, and brings a great benefit to the north part of this county, where mines and coals are plentiful and labour cheap. It being observed that there's much gold coined, but very little silver money, and that gold in proportion to silver in England is of more value than in other nations, and that by exporting silver it's scarce, and gold brought in in exchange,—the guineas, which hitherto passed for 21s. 6d., are reduced to 21s., and not to pass above that, in order to make silver money more plenty for small payments.

In the second month this year, I was seized with great pain in my bowels and violent purging, and other distempers, which much weakened me; and [I] was advised to doctor, which I had not hitherto done for 30 years last past, but always let nature and time work a cure, as it has hitherto done, and now did, with patience and resignation. In the beginning of tenth month and latter part of 9th, my sister Elin was seized with great pain in her breast and stomach, which brought her to great weakness; but on the 15th of this month, and 1st day of the week, when we were at the meeting, and none but a child with her, she was suddenly seized with great pain, and vomited near two quarts of blood, or corrupted matter like it, with which it was wonder that she was not suffocated or spent; but by Divine Providence she got over it, although for some weeks she was very weak, faint, and thirsty. [She] was advised to apply to a doctor, but was always averse to it, and freely gave up to let nature have its course in life or death, which, considering her infirmities, I think has rather prolonged her life.

[Here the writer has left two blank leaves, four pages (pp. 97-100), on which to record events in the year 1718; but this he has not done; it remains a blank; and we pass, therefore, to the next entries, p. 101, of the year]

1719.—I being now 55 years of age, the principal motive to keep on trade was for the preferment of my brother Leonard Stout's children, who had now three sons and five daughters, and two of them constantly with me, when they were between two and five years of age, under the nurture of my dear sister Elin, their aunt, and I had hopes that as they grew up they would be advised by me, in duty or interest. Their eldest daughter, Elizabeth, was now 19 years of age, and not healthy; but contrary to my advice, and without my consent, accompanied with and married Thomas Hall, about her age; [he] kept a grocer and ironmonger shop in Cartmel, and succeeded his cousin Hall, deceased. They being both so young, I had no hopes they would do well; so resolved not to

contribute to them till they knew themselves better and [could] make good use of it; but my brother Leonard, her father, at sundry times, I think, gave them as good as £200., which was much more than double what he had. But as they were thoughtless at first in marriage, they continued so ten years.

In this year I was persuaded by Thomas Backhouse, an attorney, who owed me about £40., to take for it part of a new ship in payment, as it cost him. William Askew was a fourth owner, and master: her name was the Betty Gally [or the Betty, a galley]. I understood at a meeting of owners, that he was not of good government, and proposed that, rather than he should go master, he should have a pension to stay at home, and another master [be] got; but the major part of the owners was for him to go master; upon which I offered my share, £10. under the first cost, which was accepted by James Birket, an owner. But she was lost the first voyage after, by the carelessness and negligence of the master, to the total loss of the owners.

The beginning of this year was very foggy and wet, which caused many distempers and mortality. This spring I was seized with stoppage and dulness in my head, and coughing and phlegm, which for some time made me dull and heavy; but [I] continued patient under it, without using any means to remove it, but time and patience, which gave me ease. Also my sister this year [was] brought into sudden weaknesses sundry times, so as we did not expect her recovery; which she endured with patience and was restored again, without any physical means used. This summer has been very droughty, especially in the south, where they were forced to buy water for their cattle, and their summer corn [was] so scorched, that oats were as dear as wheat, viz.: 4s. 6d. a bushel, and some thousand windles [? 220 lb.] of oats sent from hence to London. This drought put a stop to the sale of cattle in the south: no prospect of keeping them alive; and they are buying in butter and cheese at great prices, expecting it will advance. But wheat in the south [is] cheap, and some thousands tons sent to Sweden for their relief, and exchanged for iron and copper. The elector palatine is prosecuting his protestant subjects; upon which the King of Prussia and the States of Holland are restraining their popish subjects from their privileges, by way of reprisal.

1720.—In this year the parliament was much concerned to reduce the nation's debts, and had proposals from the Bank, East India Company, and South Sea Company, but found the South Sea Company's proposals the best, who offered to advance seven millions at 5 per cent. interest for a year, and after at 4 per cent., upon which subscriptions came in so fast, that the actions advanced, which the stock jobbers and ill-designing

people made use of to draw in the unwary and covetous, who daily subscribed for or bought lots, till £100. stock advanced from £100. to 3, 4, 6, and £800., and people were so infatuated, that people of all ranks and circumstances bought stock at these high prices, even lords, bankers, merchants, and most able gentlemen, without duly considering the foundation of it; whilst others, who considered it, knew it would come down together, and bought one day and sold next; and many foreigners, who directly carried the money away; and others bought lands, in expectation to pay with their stock in South Sea, at 30 or 40 years' purchase. Many noblemen and others mortgaged their estates to purchase South Sea Stock when at the highest, expecting it to advance still. But when the ill-designing men and stock-jobbers thought their game at the height, [they] began to sell, so that in a month the stock came down to £150. for £100., and lower, whereby at least 20,000 people of all ranks were ruined, and it is supposed some millions of money lost and carried away by foreigners, to the great impoverishment and scandal of this nation. But the project, if it had been duly managed, might have very much reduced the nation's debts, by reducing the interest to £4. the £100. It did not affect this country [North Lancashire] much; but the Lord Lonsdale had lost most of his estate. Our neighbour and my particular friend Robert Lawson had some time since bought South Sea stock, about £800., when it was at the lowest, as a well-wisher to the government, when it was doubtful; and now, when it was advanced to £700. or £800. he bought an estate for £4,000., fully expecting that his advance in the stock would pay it; and [he] was urged by me and all his well-wishers to sell, and then might have paid for the estate and had £3,000. or £4,000. more. But he was so far infatuated that it would still advance till the payment of the estate was due, that he delayed drawing out or selling, till it all on a sudden came down to the principal put in; and, as the estate was bought too dear, he lost not only the advance, but much of the principal of his stock. And this was the fate of thousands of people in and near London. But many persons in and about London, who before this were supposed not to be worth £500. or £1,000., had in this confusion got £100,000., and purchased estates, and appeared in an equipage as great as the lords and the great men, who were deluded out of their estates. All this time the king [Geo. I.] was at Hanover, who was advised of it by express, who immediately came over, and called the parliament to inquire into this fraud; and the commissioners of the treasury [were] largely amerced for it, and the South Sea Company directors.

On the 18th day of the tenth month this year, it being the first day of the week, and the change of the moon, and a great wind at the west,

we had the greatest sea-flood that had been in the memory of any man then living. It was two feet higher than it was ever known, except that on the 3rd of eighth month, 1701, and was six inches higher than that, which was in the night, and did not much damage. But this was at mid-day: it was about four feet deep upon the Green Area, a yard deep in the Bridge Lane, where boats passed to get some old people out of their houses. It drove a ship of 90 tons into the corner of the raised way into the king's meadows, and if that had not been in the way, she had floated over to above the bridge. It was two feet deep on that causeway. The flood came into the warehouses and custom-house, where nearly 100 hogsheads of tobacco was all damaged, and wine and brandy staved. It entered many houses and beat down walls, and did damage about this town valued [at] near £1,000. But the wind fell that night, and the next tide, in the night, was not so high by four feet. But next day the storm rose, and the tide ran as high as the day before; and the violence of the storm kept the tide at the full height near an hour and a half; caused great damage in the fences, and overflowed the land all along the coasts; got into houses and barns, spoiled their hay and corn, and drowned many cattle and sheep, and remained like a sea [in] Thornham and other low lands, for four days, till the *powes* (?) * could drain it; houses beat down, and many got upon their houses till boats could fetch them. Eight persons were drowned in Thornham Moss; many people being 48 hours without meat or drink. It beat down Cocker and Pillin Bridges, and smaller bridges at its return; [caused] great loss in Pillin, Meiles [Meols], and Marton Mere; and about ten persons were drowned. It drove the shillow stones [shingles, of a stony beach] into meadows, to the damage of their value. The ships at Sunderland [west of the mouth of the Lune] rode it out, but several [were] lost about Piel, and some that were a-building [were] carried off the stocks into the fields. It is computed that the loss sustained upon the sea coasts of this county by this flood, could not be less than £40,000; and if it had happened in the night, as it was in the two days, many people would have been drowned in their beds, and the loss much greater. Many poor people have lost what goods they had, which are objects of charity, and [have] gone into the inlands to beg, where they are relieved.

Upon several hindrances I did not inspect my affairs last year; so do it now for two years, and find that my effects now, after what I owe to all persons is deducted, amounts to £3,850. 5s. 6d., and that, at stating the same two years since, £3,230; so that my improvement in 1719 and

* Pow-dike is a dike made in the fens for carrying off the waters.

1720 is £420. 5s. 6d. I find that I have money owing upon notes and book debts to the sum of £40. [I] think not good, which are omitted in this account now stated.

1721.—In the eleventh month, the beginning of this year [the weather] was open and warm, and in the second month usual; but next month much snow and frost, and the ground covered a month; which went hard with people. Turf being lost in the late floods, and coals scarce, caused great mortality and distempers by the extreme changes in the weather; particularly my sister Elin [was] brought into a weak condition, and endured more than could be expected, considering her age and many infirmities from her childhood, very frequently.

In this month Charles Rigby, the lawyer before mentioned, died, having been deprived of his speech some years. He had great practice for twenty years, and might have attained a good estate, but lived up to his getting. He was always an encourager of litigious suits, and especially in forwarding prosecutions against the Quakers, for their conscientious refusal of paying tithes and the clergy's demands; and in the last ten years of his life had lost his reputation, and was reduced to straits to maintain his family, which was large.

The parliament this year appointed a secret committee of thirteen members to inquire, and, if possible, to discover, who were the authors and encouragers of the great frauds committed last year in managing the South Sea Stock; and several of the directors were detected, taken up, and their estates seized. And also John Aisby, of Yorkshire, first commissioner of the treasury, had £20,000. given him for promoting it; and many more, whose estates are to be sold towards the relief of the greatest losers. Knight, who was their cashier, is fled over sea, and cannot be recalled; who might have made large discoveries. It is evident that many members of parliament, ministers of state, and receivers of the king's revenues, were accessory to the fraud. There is above one million [pounds] of frauds discovered, and seized to be sold; but is much short.

Upon the 15th of second month, this year, Prince William, the king's second son living, was born at seven in the evening, to the joy of all people who wish our happiness. And the pretender at Rome had a son born in the tenth month, last past. There is many die this year, and particularly of the small-pox, of all ages and ranks; the Duke of Rutland, aged 45 years, and James Craggs, secretary of state, and many others of the nobility in London. The burials are 800 a-week.

The great distraction the stock buyers and sellers made last year, and the prosecution of them made this year, have almost wholly discouraged

trade, and put a stop to the circulation of money, and many are broke, both in London and the country. [It] puts a stop to the sale of cattle and all our manufactures, although this kingdom is now at peace with all Europe, but in much confusion or distraction in our own affairs. But corn and all necessary provisions of life are plenty and cheap in all parts.

This year my apprentice, John Good, had served the time of his apprenticeship, and faithfully to my knowledge, with some care to keep him from some company that would have drawn him to expenses. He went abroad this year, and next began the trade in this town, and in a few years married a very agreeable young woman, with a good portion.

In this year the plague or pestilence raged in the south of France, most in Provence and Languedoc, at Marseilles, Aix, Toulon, Avignon, and many other places; 10,000 at Toulon; 6,000 at Avignon, and the rest of the country in proportion, died; and they had great guards of soldiers set to prevent any persons coming out of the infected places, or carrying them any necessary provisions; by which many are starved to death by hunger, or shot to death by the soldiers. All ships coming from that sea to England perform quarantine 40 days before any men or goods come on shore, or any person [is] permitted to go to them. Two ships from Turkey, which, with their cargoes, were valued at £24,000., were burned in the Thames, fearing that the goods might be infecting; and the parliament to order satisfaction for that sum. There was a false report here that the infection was got to the Isle of Man.

In the seventh month, this year, William Willson died, at Waterbrook, near Kendal; who married my mother's sister,—who was 108 years of age, and to the last had his sight, hearing, and other senses, as well as most of 20 years younger; but got a bruise in his body by a fall, of which he died, otherwise might have lived some years longer. He left above 30 persons he was great grandfather to at the time of his decease. His wife was my mother's eldest sister.

John Good's service being now out, I had the offer of several boys, of honest and substantial parents, with £40. or £50. to be apprenticed; but was rather inclined to give over trade, having acquired more than ever I expected, and my sister growing weak, and, in all appearance, not to live two or three years. But I, having kept my brother Leonard's second son William, ever since he was two years old, and got him learning to Latin, writing, and arithmetic, both at home and abroad, as much as he was capable of, and was now 15 years of age,—his father and mother were very desirous that I should take him into the shop, as an apprentice to the trade, and which I had a prospect of for some years; but now was doubtful of his capacity and forwardness to the employ;

and I endeavoured to persuade his father to take him home to husbandry, or put him an apprentice to some manufacture or handicraft trade, or to sea, and that I thought he was not proper for my business. But his parents thought I was too scrupulous, and that I should not turn him off after so long being with me, and having had education here in order to it. And, considering natural affection, and my desire to promote his children, I took him into the shop as an apprentice, and confined myself more than I inclined to, in order to instruct him, and to observe diligent attendance; being my dear sister was become so infirm that she could not inspect the apprentices as formerly.

This year the Czar of Muscovy has made peace with all his adversaries, and has completed his new city Petersburg, which 10 years ago was a desert, and now contains 40,000 houses and many stately castles, palaces, and worship houses, and it is fully inhabited, and people of all religions invited to dwell there, with free liberty to have public places of worship and equal privileges.

1722.—Upon the 3rd day of this month [?] in the night, it being the market day, my shop was broken, and £20. in money taken out of a drawer in my closet, in two purses; but in the same drawer was in silver, and gold and plate, to the value of £30. left, which was not taken, or overlooked; by which I supposed it was done by some neighbour. The method they took to get in was by boring a hole at each end of the window, where the staple was fixed, with a lapping-gimlet, or bung-borer, which widened it without noise, and then made use of an iron rod, with a hole in one end, to lift up the iron pin the staple was fixed by. With much labour, and with the same rod [they] wrested open the drawer, which was locked, and after left the iron rod in the shop; which after appeared to be a setter to a shop window, at the White Cross, wrested out for this purpose. And such a piercer was found in Richard Holland's shop, next morning (the cooper), and removed from the place it was left in the evening before; and it was brought to the window and answered to the hole and [was] shattered in the edge against the rivets of the staples, and by all people was supposed to be the instrument. The said Holland's servants said their master was out all that night, and by all people supposed to be him, and many circumstances to prove it. I spoke to him about it, and he was in great confusion and took his bed, and in a week's time after died in a distracted condition, but did not confess it, and it was supposed his wife put him upon it; so that I lost the money, without making any further means of discovery.

Upon the 26th of this month (?) Sir Thomas Lowther, of Houlker [Holker Hall, Furness], and William Heysam, of London, were elected

members of parliament for Lancaster, without opposition, and in the next month came on the election for knights,—Richard Shuttleworth and Sir John Bland, joint [i. e. in coalition] against Sir Henry Houghton, single, and a strong contest. The poll continued ten days, and at the closing the votes were—Shuttleworth, 3,760; Bland, 3,722; Houghton, 3,366; and on Sir Edward Stanley, in favour of Houghton, 3,100. Most of the clergy and papists and disaffected were very earnest for the former. The Earl of Derby pretended to be neuter, upon the papists promising they would be so too; but [they] privately engaged their interest for the former; so that they made use of the Earl of Derby's impartiality to engage his interest, against his inclination to promote Houghton and his kinsman Stanley, who otherwise had been elected. The disaffected made great rejoicing and revelling for their success.

In this year, Samuel Satterthwait died, who was joint executor and trustee with me for William Coward; so that the trust and trouble of that —— man rested on me. Samuel Satterthwait had been married about three years. His wife died about two years since, in childbed of two children. He was seized with the shaking ague, and took the Jesuits' bark to throw it off; but did not govern himself so carefully as he ought to have done; which threw him into a lingering distemper, of which he died. [He] left a daughter, two years old, to the care of her grandfather, John Walton, where she lived to nigh 20 years of age, and then died. Her portion returned to her brother, and the rest to her sister's son.

The new parliament not proving to the liking of the disaffected, they entered into a new conspiracy, to be executed when the king was gone to Hanover, to seize the tower, the mint, and bank, and other places, upon the pretender (the Duke of Ormond) with foreign force, landing or approaching England;—which was discovered before the king went, and the Lords North and Gray, and Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester, Kelly, the Earl of Orrery, and many others were apprehended and confined to the tower. This prevented the king's going over this year.

At the close of the late parliament, the act for the continuance of the solemn affirmation of the people called Quakers, instead of an oath, was passed in the house of lords, by 62 against 14, although much opposed by the Bishops of York, Chester, and Rochester, and a petition of 42 clergymen of London, and opposed only by such as after appeared to be in the conspiracy aforesaid.

The Czar of Muscovia went to Muscow, this year, and carried a frigate of 24 guns overland from Petersburg to Muscow, for a show,

which is many hundred miles. He has caused Bibles to be printed in Holland, with a blank between each leaf, to write comments upon, and to be given to his subjects, who are not to marry till they can read in it and instruct their family. And their priests are strictly enjoined to instruct the people to read the Holy Scriptures of the old and new testament.

There is now great interruption of trade by pirates, who have lately taken and destroyed some hundred ships, of several nations; but many of the chief of them has been taken this year, by the king's ships, particularly Captain Roberts and some hundred men, by the Swallow, Captain Ogle, commander. I having omitted to inspect the state of my affairs last year, I do it now, and find that the whole are £4,350., and that I am debtor in all to sundry persons, £214. 13s. 5d., which being deducted, rests £4,136. 5s. 9d., and what I had clear in stating in 1720 was then £3,650. 5s. 6d.; so that my advance in 1721 and 1722, errors excepted, is £486. 0s. 3d.

1723.—The parliament are inspecting the management of the customs, and find great defrauds, especially at Glasgow, in tobacco, where they ship off more by debenture than they pay duty for inwards; and it is now ordered that all damaged tobacco be burned, and for every 5lb. burned the merchant to have 1lb. duty free. They are now selling the estates forfeited by the rebellion, and the directors of the South Sea Company, and at great prices; and land generally advances in price, and rents.

About the 25th day of 12th month, 1722-3, Robert Heysam, of London, died, who had been representative in parliament for Lancaster, from 1698, and was a very great benefactor to the town in general, and to many [in] particular, and generous to all, without partiality in respect to religious profession.

In the second month, this year, I was at the general meeting of our friends, at Chester. The same was kept in a large place, called the Tennis Court, [which] would hold some thousands of people. The citizens [who] came in were very attentive and civil, as also in the streets and inns, and to general satisfaction.

The late act for prohibiting the wearing of calicoes, and other East India goods, has very much advanced our linen and woollen manufactures, and the committee of parliament appointed to inquire into the late plot have now made their report, and have detected many, both lords and commoners, which are committed to perpetual prison. One Leager, a lawyer, hanged. Francis Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester, who, it appears, was the principal deluder of Queen Anne, in the last years of

her reign, and of the Duke of Ormond and others, who left the realm, and corresponding with them in order to bring in the Pretender, and was always endeavouring to stir up persecution against dissenters, and make void the Toleration Act,—the house of lords have sentenced him to perpetual banishment; and in pursuance of the same he was put on board a ship of war in the fourth month, and landed near Dunkirk, pretending for Aix-La-Chappelle, but went to Paris; and is not to correspond or to write or receive any letters with any here; and to be treason in any who may correspond with him.

It appearing that the papists make great remittances to the pretender at Rome, the parliament have this year laid a tax of £100,000. upon the papists' estates in England, which is now collecting. The yearly value of the papists' estates in Lancashire is valued at about £20,000. a-year, and their tax to contribute to the whole will be about 8s. 9d. in the pound, according to the said value; which is hard on such of them as have not been concerned in the plot.

On the 7th day of the 10th month, this year, Thomas Benison, of this town [Lancaster], died, about 60 years of age. He was an attorney of the greatest business of any here, and true to his client, but would be well paid, and no encourager of vexatious suits. He had acquired a good estate, which he left to his only son, who proved very litigious and oppressive.

It being now near ten years since Thomas Medcalfe died, and as his executor [I] have had much trouble in the sale of his personal estate, paying his debts, and managing his real estate and the education of his children, and paying them their portions, the youngest being at age four years since, and discharged; by which I have disbursed of my own money £100. or more, and there being yet to pay to some of his near relations above £100., who have hitherto forborne, expecting his son and heir coming to undertake it himself; but his not coming, they begin to be urgent for their money, which we cannot do but by selling land, which we have hitherto forborne; and his bondsman, James Hornby, who has got an assignment of all after our trust is performed, is now very uneasy to know how his account stands with the commissioners of the customs, and in order to know it went to London, but was told it could not be ascertained till Thomas Medcalfe came to London. Upon which James Hornby made a second journey to Penzance, to persuade him to make up his accounts, which he promised to do, but delayed, and continued both [Hornby] himself and me very uneasy. He was bound in £1,500. bond, for discharging his office, as collector of customs, at Penzance, and I had an account of £1,400. of my receipts and disbursements

to adjust, which, if his estate had been extended, as we daily expected, I should have been strictly obliged to prove; but had no remedy but patience, and to prepare for a strict account.

This summer was extreme drouthy, so that people were straitened to keep their cattle alive, and especially for water; and the corn was burnt up, little hay got, and no sale of cattle, nor fodder to subsist them in winter. [It] went hard with the poor farmers, but the corn, though little straw, proved good and moderate in price, and our linen manufactory and spinning [being] at good prices, the poor subsisted well this year.

The protestants, in the popish dominions in Germany, being now much persecuted and deprived of their religious liberty, the protestant princes there have limited their popish subjects, and appealed to the emperor to have redress according to the decree of Westphalia, in 1648; which the emperor has long promised to see redressed; but the pope and the priests and jesuits still find means to prevent it. Having nothing extraordinary to note about trade this year, I now took an account of my effects and made an inventory of them, which amounted to £4,569. 9s. 11d.; and that I owed to sundry persons in all £220. 16s. 9d., which, being deducted, there rested clear £4,348. 13s. 2d.; and at stating the same the last year my clear estate was £4,136. 5s. 9d.; so that my improvement in this year, 1723, is £212. 7s. 5d.

1724.—In the 8th month, this year, I settled all accounts with John Johnson, in pursuance of my trust as his father's executor; and a general release was given me, dated 27th of this month, and is in my drawers.

In this year, my neighbour William Thornton failed, and his friends sold his effects, and paid 5s. 6d. in the pound, to such as would receive it. Also, this year, Thomas Croft, who had been mayor, and had a good fortune by his wife, and many hundred pounds legacy which an aunt who died at London left him, most of which he laid out in building and fashionable living, so that he failed in his credit this year, and compounded with his creditors at 12s. in the pound, and died soon after.

Upon the 28th day of the first month, in the evening, this year, an accident happened in my shop, which narrowly escaped the lives of several, and firing the house, if not the town. My nephew, William Stout, was in the shop, and a lad came in and begged a pipe of tobacco, which he gave him, and put a little gunpowder in it, unknown to the lad; but did not take care to shut the drawer he took the powder out of; and when the lad was smoking the tobacco, and the powder fired, a spark flew into the powder drawer and set fire to it, there being about 3lb. or

4lb. in it, which blew up the goods in the shop, and scorched them,—there being then the two abovementioned, my maid-servant, and a girl, in the shop. It scorched and beat them down, being about two yards from it; but a wonder that none of them were slain. The shop windows, and fore and back doors, were open, which gave vent to the blast, otherwise the shop and house had certainly been blown up. The strength it came out of the back door was such, that it split and broke an oak portal into the house, which was at eight yards distance from the blast, and also forced open the doors and windows on the back part of the house. The lad, my nephew, and maid, were sorely scorched, but no otherwise hurt, which was to the admiration of them at a distance, who saw and heard the blast, and how boxes, chests, and goods were forcibly thrown about.

Upon the 7th day of the 9th month, 1724, in the morning, my dear sister, Elin Stout, was seized with a violent fit of her common distemper, of pain in her breast and back, and shortness of breath, which she had been afflicted with often before; which, with many other distempers, for many years, had brought her very low, so that nature was spent. She continued in much pain for two days, but as the pain eased her strength was gone, and she grew weaker, but very sensible, and resigned to the will of God, freely to depart this life; expressing herself that she departed this life in love and charity to all people, and that she had nothing upon her mind, but [was] satisfied to die; and so continued so long as she could speak, which was till about two hours before she expired; in which time she wrought much in breathing, but laid very quietly. She breathed her last about a quarter of an hour before the 5th hour in the morning, the 21st day of the 9th month in this year, 1724, it being the 7th day of the week [Saturday]. She was buried in the yard of the meeting-house of the people called Quakers, in Lancaster, in whose communion she died, the 23rd of the same month; the corpse attended by some hundreds of friends, neighbours, and relations, and after [it was] interred, a meeting was kept in the said meeting-house, for about an hour and a half time, where James Willson and Lydia Lancaster had time in giving a public exhortation to that assembly suitable to the occasion, which was received with much attention, and to their seeming general satisfaction; and it is hoped to their good information, as to the principles of the Christian profession of the people called Quakers. I was very much affected with sorrow for the loss of my dear and only sister; but considering the many afflictions of body she underwent, two or three years before she died, I was often freely resigned to the will of God, for her ease, either by life or death. As long as she

had ability she would be doing the housewifery, and set the maid to spin or knit ; but when she sat to spin, knit, or sew, she did it at the greatest distance from the fire in winter, and in bed she laid with half the covering that the rest of the family had, which was contrary to my constitution, who could endure double the weight of covering in bed that most people make use of. She did not make a will, but desired that our brother Leonard should have what she was possessed of, to dispose of to his five daughters, which was accordingly done ; and at her death my brother Leonard sent his second daughter, Janet, to keep my house till I was otherwise provided. But my greatest inclination was to give over my trade, if not housekeeping ; having now small hopes that my nephew, William, would apply himself to the business now, when my sister was dead, who used to oversee him in my absence. But his parents were very urgent, as I had entered, to continue him till he came at age, to prove himself ; which I had but small hopes of good success, and rather advised his father to take him to husbandry, and if he was hopeful therein, I would purchase a good estate for him in the country ; but his parents were all for a trade. At the close of this year, as usually, I inspected my affairs, and took an inventory of the particulars thereof, and found the same to amount to (after deducting what I owed to every one) £4,560 ; and that my clear estate last year, as stated, was £4,348. 18s. 2d., so that my advance this year, 1724, was £211. 6s. 10d. In this account I omitted several doubtful debts to the sum of £40.

1725.—In this year Margaret Wither, the widow of Thomas Wither, of Over Kellet, died ; upon which our trust commenced to manage the whole estate he left to particular uses ; and [it] was then let to William Backhouse, at a moderate rent, in order to answer the design of the donor.

The beginning of this year, Peter the Great, Czar or Emperor of Russia, died at Petersburg, in the 53rd year of his age. He was a prince of very great natural capacity, and very much enlarged his dominions, and improved the same in learning and sciences and trades, by inviting foreigners of all religious professions to dwell in his dominions, with free liberty of religious worship, without any opposition ; which brought great multitudes to dwell and trade in many parts of his dominions. By his will he appointed the empress, his wife, his successor ; and she was crowned before he died. She came of mean parents, but of a great spirit, and capable to govern that empire, which she did till she died.

At the Lent assizes, this year, one Mattison, of Dent, sued this hundred of Loynsdale, to recover above £100. he pretended he was robbed

of, upon Halton Moor, and brought such evidence that he got a verdict for his demand and costs, which was assessed and paid; which, with the defence, was at least £300., although it was then believed and afterwards appeared to be a fraud, and was concerted between him and another man to meet him on Halton Moor and to deliver the money. At this assize John Carlisle was condemned and executed for taking a horse for [from] John Caton, son of John Caton, of Hatlex, aged about twelve years, in the lane near Slyne: [he] rode away with it. The boy complained at Slyne, and he was pursued and overtaken at Carnforth, and apprehended. He had been a notorious thief; had been several times convicted and condemned; and broke this and other gaols, and [was] guilty of manslaughter in Cumberland.

In this year, I bought, in a public sale, the Greens field, near the More Lane, from Henry Cort, and his son, at the price of £145.; the content about two acres and a half. In this year we had a very wet and cold summer; few turf got and coals 14s. a ton, and a late harvest, and a great dearth feared; but in the 7th month [Sept.] the season became good, and the harvest [was] got in much better than expected. And also corn proved better fed than expected; and the market settled, and potatoes great plenty and cheap.

The linen and cotton manufacture in good demand, and good wages for spinning. *Cotton wool, the beginning of this year advanced from 10d. to near 2s. 1d. the lb.*; iron £20. a ton or upwards, gives great encouragement to this country, and iron furnaces lately erected, and the great advance of charr coals (charcoal) and the iron mine. The small-pox has prevailed this summer and the measles, of which very many have died in and about Lancaster; but the nation seems peaceable and easy, although the king was at Hanover most of this summer, and very industrious for the relief of the persecuted protestants in Germany and Poland.

I, being one in trust to sell Henry Coward's estate in 1699, part of which was the reversion of the house which Mark Horsfall was in possession of, upon a lease for lives, which Henry Coward had purchased of John Cawson; and the said Mark being not in a capacity to purchase the reversion, his son John then was desirous to purchase it, and was then in a hopeful way to perform, and desired my assistance, which I promised, and upon that he purchased it, but was obliged to borrow £200. to perform the purchase; for which I became bound with him, and had the house and meadow assigned to me as a counter-security, the interest of which was duly paid. But upon his cousin Henry Horsfall being accused of and convicted for counterfeiting the stamps on paper,

and a pardon promised, on his making a full discovery of all he had made stamps for, or were accessary to the said fraud, he accused his said cousin John Horsfall, who accidentally went into his closet when he was stamping paper; but [was] no farther concerned, as was evident to all his neighbours. However, to avoid prosecution, he went to London, and [was] in good business there many years, and then I was called upon for the money I was bound for, and he paid me the interest of it till his death, which was about the year 1716, and intestate. Upon which his brother Edmund Horsfall was his heir, who was a poor decrepid man, and could not pay the interest, so that there was an arrear of interest due in 1724, when the said Edmund died, of £74. He made a will, and named trustees to sell the estate to pay me and other creditors; but the will was drawn by the direction of his sister Margaret, in an obscure and doubtful form, so as the trustees would not act; upon which I was obliged to prefer a bill in chancery against them, who renounced, and other persons [were] decreed to sell; who undertook it, and in a public sale sold the house to Thomas Townson, for £355.; and my principal money, £200., and £74. interest was paid, but no more (in consideration of so much interest in arrear) but only simple interest at 5 per cent. for £200. principal. I had a great deal of trouble with the said Margaret Walton his sister; she being a very contentious and subtle woman; but was well content I got clear of her, without any acknowledgments of the favours and forbearance I showed them.

King George came to the Brill, in Holland, the 20th of 10th month this year, and waited for a fair wind ten days; when the wind came to east, with a storm and snow, in which he went to sea, and the storm was so violent that they durst not make land on the east coast of England, but stood in to the King's Channel, and by great industry got into Rye bay, which was guarded against the storm. He had not taken victuals for two days, and the ship much damaged, and many of the ships that came out with him wrecked upon the east coasts, and about the Thames. He was detained at Rye five days by the snow that fell. He was very bountiful to the sailors on his arrival.

1726.—In this year, Thomas Metcalfe, having stayed at Penzance as long as he had anything to subsist upon, and having assigned all his estate here to James Hornby to indemnify him from his being bound with him to the crown for his performing his office, could expect nothing from hence to subsist upon; so was by want compelled to come to London to settle accounts with the commissioners of the customs, which he did, and then came here to raise money to clear the same, which was about £200., which he did by making a public sale of part of his estate; which

was sold very dear, at thirty years' purchase, to the quantity of £600., and paid what was due to the king and all other his and father's engagements, and I got my account stated with him, and with lawyer Gibson's assistance got a full discharge from him for what I had done as an executor of his father's will, and all accounts, with an indemnity from all future demands on his father's account; and in about six months after he returned to Penzance, and died soon after.

In the second month this year, the general meeting for the four northern counties was kept at Lancaster, which was large, peaceable, and to the satisfaction of all attending it, of different religious professions. It being now a year since my sister died, and that my niece Jennet Stout had kept my house, in which I had been much confined to the shop and house, to overlook the management, and particularly that of my nephew William in the shop, who I continued doubtful of his diligence and capacity for performing his trust. He was easily drawn into such company of youth as I was sensible would not tend to his good edification or furtherance in the trade.

The 1st of the 3rd month this year, Margaret Marshall, of Bare, and her daughter Margaret, came to board and lodge with me; which she had for some time requested, although I never was inclined to much company; but alway affected retirement so much as my business would permit, especially in a morning into the fields and into the garden, and much to reading in my closet. In the years 1725 and 1726, I did not find much alteration in my trade, yet did not think that it was to my profit so much as it was in my sister's time; so at the close of this year I took an inventory of the same, and found it to be, after I had deducted what I did owe in all to sundry persons, to £4,950., and that it was in 1724, £4,560., so that my improvements in the years 1725-26 was £390.; by which I was sensible that my house and shop was not taken care of as formerly, and I was uneasy to continue, but urged to it another year by my brother Leonard, till his son William was at age.

1727.—In the second month this year, William Heysam, who was one of the members of parliament for Lancaster, died at the Bath; who was an indolent man, and of no service; but he left an estate at Greaves, the rent to eight poor freemen, to be named by the mayor, recorder, and three of the oldest aldermen, and so successively as any die; which is at least £5. a-year each, the estate being above £40. a-year. The next month, Christopher Towers, jun. was elected in his stead to serve to succeed him in parliament, aged about 30 years, and unanimously.

In this year, the Spaniards besieged Gibraltar a long time without any success and lost 20,000 men, and the garrison not 200. The English

fleet blocked up Porto Bello some months, but to no benefit, and lost the admiral, Hosier, and most of the captains, and some thousand sailors. A great advance of land this year in purchase of lands, and rents and servants' wages advanced at least 20s. a-year, men or women, and for husbandry or housewifery and journeymen's wages also.

In the third month this year, the Czarina or Empress of Russia died, aged 38 years; but doubted whether naturally or by violence; and as her husband Peter the Great appointed her to succeed him, he empowered her to name her successor at her death, a will was produced, in which Peter, grandson to Peter the Great, aged ten years, who was proclaimed Peter the Second. The late czarina had two daughters,—one married to the Duke of Holstein, aged 16 years; the other, younger, unmarried.

Upon the 3rd day of this month, King George entered upon his journey to Hanover, but got not to sea before the 5th, and arrived in Holland the 6th. He was seized at sea with griping pain in his breast and stomach, and [this] upon his journey by land increased; so that on the 10th he was very ill, and got to his brother's at Osenburg [Osnaburg] very weak, and died in a few hours: and, in a few days after, his corpse was carried to Hanover, about 40 miles distant, and there buried amongst his ancestors; but the place where he died was the place of his birth. It was the 11th that he died, and immediately a messenger [was] sent express to London, who arrived there the 14th; which was a great surprise. The next day, the lords of the privy council, nobility, mayor of London, and members of parliament in town, met and unanimously proclaimed his son the Prince of Wales, king, by the name of King George II.: and the proclamation was dispatched by express to Scotland, Ireland, and all the cities and towns in his dominions; and there proclaimed to the universal satisfaction of all people. The king, at his first appearance in council, declared that he would protect all his subjects in their properties and their civil and religious privileges, as by law established; which gave great satisfaction to all people, and congratulatory addresses sent him upon it from people of all ranks and persuasions. In the 5th month the parliament met, and made very submissive and dutiful addresses to the king, promising fidelity, and granted him the same subsidies his father had, to maintain the honour and dignity of the crown, and also made an addition to the queen of £100,000. yearly, during her life, if she overlive the king; and he keeps the same ministry his father had, which the disaffected are not yet pleased at, and particularly against Robert Walpole, the treasurer. Hereupon the Spaniards have raised the siege of Gibraltar, and have accepted the terms of peace offered them; upon which

public stocks are advanced from 98 to 110 South Sea; and others in proportion.

The beginning of this month, the 6th, the parliament was dissolved by proclamation, and writs issued out the 10th, for electing another, to sit in the 9th month this year. The election for Lancaster was the 22nd day of sixth month, where Sir Thomas Lowther and Christopher Tower, the late members, were elected. There was some opposition made by Francis Charters, a Scotchman, who has got an estate of £8,000. to £9,000. a-year, and mostly by gaming; about £3,000. a-year of it at Hornby, and other parts in this county. His character, which was not good in all parts of England and Scotland, he had hopes to retrieve, and declared himself a candidate for this town; upon which many inn-keepers and inferior poor and drinking freemen, about one hundred on horseback, and as many on foot, went to Hornby to invite him, which so much elevated him, that he spent at least £100. a-day for a week, which caused a great cry; and [he] stood a poll till Lowther and Towers had each about 300 votes, and he but 90; so he gave up, having spent near £1,000., and each of them elected near that sum. Sir Edward Stanley and Richard Shuttleworth elected for the county without any opposition, and it appears that the court party will be greater in this than in the last parliament; many of the most noted disaffected being rejected.

My niece Jennet Stout, having been my housekeeper since the death of my sister, near three years, in which time I have been careful to preserve her out of disagreeable company; but, with the consent of her parents, the fifth of the eighth month, this year, she was married to Matthew Wright, of Preston Patrick, in Westmoreland, yeoman; to whom her father promised £300., to which I then contributed £100., and next year £40., and her father the rest of his own, and what my sister left him to dispose of.

1728.—My neighbour, Alice Greenwood, widow, who, upon the sudden death of her husband, Augustin Greenwood, as before observed, reposed a trust in me to manage the affairs and effects of her said husband, which I did to her satisfaction, for which she showed a grateful acknowledgment till she died; which was in the tenth month, 1725, when she made a will, and devised most of what she had to dispose of to her decrepid and unfortunate daughter, Ann Spencer, who survived her two years, and in the twelfth month, 1727, made a will and died that month, and appointed her brother, Benjamin Greenwood, Robert Peele, and me, executors; but as her said brother was then upon a voyage to Leghorn, the care of her concerns fell mostly upon me. She left two sons; the elder, Augustin, had the reversion of his father's

estate at Leeds, worth about £500., and what her mother left her was about £500., most of which she gave to her younger son, John Spencer. We made a sale of her goods, being a great part in apparel, which I suppose might have cost her and her mother much above £100.

Her two sons were by us educated in school learning, writing, arithmetic, and accounts, as much as could be here, and the elder, Augustin, was sent to his uncle, Christopher Hopkin, at London, who had a very beneficial seat in the custom there, to get him preferred; but he slighted him and sent him back, and at his return was placed with Charles Gibson in the prothonotary's office at Preston, for some years, who had £50. with him; but he did not stay with him a year, but came to Lancaster, and boarded some years, till he married Mary Pepper, of Cartmel, with whom he got £600. or £700. He had a son by her; did something in merchandise; but died after he had been married about four years, his son being then not a year old, and left his wife's fortune, and some more to them.

John Spencer, his brother, after he had got good education, was sent to his uncle, Benjamin Greenwood, at London, who placed him as an apprentice to a captain of an East India ship for three years, with whom he gave £100., and he had near that sum for an adventure: and he performed that voyage in good health, in eighteen months, but not in such good success as his uncle expected, or to the captain's satisfaction; and was very expensive, to prevent which his uncle got him to be mate in a ship bound to Constantinople, which voyage he performed, and another to the East Indies; but instead of improvement, which he was capable of, and also to get a command, he had wasted all that was left him, which was above £400., and was obliged to be content to go to the Indies in a low station, having been forsaken by his uncle Greenwood, and all his friends.

I, being now 63 years of age, thought it was time to give over my trade; and my nephew, William Stout, being now seven years in the shop, as an apprentice, and now 22 years of age; at the expectation and request of his parents I turned over the trade to him, and, in the 4th month, this year, I made an inventory of what goods I had in the shop, cellars, and warehouse, for sale, which amounted to £370.; and I gave him in money £32., which he went to Sheffield with to buy goods; was in all £402., all which I gave, and also the use of weights, scales, chests, boxes, and other utensils, to the value of £20., and also the use of the shop, cellars, and warehouse, rent-free; and also his boarding free, and the offer of my assistance in the shop upon any occasion,—all which was great satisfaction to his parents, my trade and acquaintance then being

very good; and I told him, if he would be governed by my advice, I would give him all the encouragement and assistance necessary. Upon which he entered upon the trade, and I assisted him as diligently as if I had been his servant. But, in a few months time, I perceived that he was contracting a familiarity with some persons I thought would draw him out, to the neglect of his business, which I cautioned him to avoid, which he seemed to take notice of; but I found he did not answer my advice, but rather took more liberty; upon which I told him that if he did not answer to my advice I must leave him to himself. But I did not find that he had any due regard to my advice, which was a great trouble to me; that, as I had taken so much pains and charge for his education, and given him such encouragement to begin trade, and to be so slighted, and it put me upon a resolution wholly to leave him, which I told him; but found he was void of a sense of my care for him, or what I had done for him; nor expressed any sorrow for his conduct, or of my forsaking him, so that I had no hopes of his doing well in trade. But I continued him this year to eat and lodge in my house free. I then kept house with my brother Leonard's third daughter, Elin, then about 20 years of age, and a servant, but not very easy with them, thinking to give up housekeeping and be a boarder, or to go into the country to live; so to be out of the sight of the ill-management and conduct of my ungrateful and insensible nephew. But then I had many accounts to settle, with whom I had dealt, as also several trusts to manage, that I could not easily leave the town; and diverted myself with reading and writing and walking into the fields, in summer time at sunrise in the morning, and in my garden in the evening, as I had done for 30 years last past, and mostly all alone.

The last year was a great plenty of corn in this country; but in the south and east scarce and dear; but great quantities sent from hence into Yorkshire, and by sea to Liverpool, and malt towards Manchester, which advanced it here. But potatoes were plenty and cheap, from 2s. 6d. to 3s. a load, which was a relief to the poor. But this year was quite otherwise. We had a very wet spring and late seeding, and cold summer; so that corn did not get its feeding, and a great blast in summer, which scorched corn. It was also a very sickly summer, and a great mortality in the plain country, much more than in the towns; and the burials were double this year to what they were last year. Corn proved dear; wheat 20s., barley 10s., oats 7s., and beans 13s., oatmeal 14s. a windle [220 lbs.], and potatoes double what they were the last year. The linen manufactory very low, and spinning one-third less than last year; so that the poor have a hard year. Oatmeal so ordinary that wheat bread is most used.

In the 4th month, this year, Robert Lawson, of Sunderland, failed in his credit, who had done as much in merchandise here as all the rest, and had good success in trade, but employed the profit in superfluity of buying land at great prices, and building chargeable and unnecessary houses, barns, gardens, and other fancies, and costly furniture; so that he overshot himself, and a commission of bankrupt got out against him; and, as he took up great sums from the collectors of the customs, land-tax, &c., the same was first paid. His debts were about £14,000., of which about 14s. in the pound was paid; but it was supposed he had so much as would have paid all, if it could have been done without charges, and that if he had not been so extravagant in purchasing building and other superfluities, he might have been worth £3,000. or £4,000.

In this year Thomas Southworth, of the High Field, in Lancaster, died; being the last of an ancient and wealthy family of that name there, but reduced to a small estate. He left a widow but no child: [he] was a man of a weak capacity, and made no will; and his widow expected the estate, being there was none to claim as heir. I had long ago known an uncle of his in London, called Robert Southworth, who was poor; upon which I writ to my friends in London to inquire for him, but found he was dead. But upon further inquiry found that there was one Francis Southworth, another uncle, at London, who was also dead, but had left a son called Francis, whom my friends found out, who came here to claim the estate; who the widow made some scruple to admit at first, but was obliged to admit upon a composition; and he returned to London and gave me a power to sell the estate, which I did to Robert Gibson, Esq. for above £300., to his great satisfaction, and who was willing to gratify me in what I desired; which was only a silver pint can of £5. value, which I accepted of.

I being last year concerned in selling some part of Thomas Medcalf's estate, and bidding at a house in Penny-street, it fell into my hands as the highest bidder, which, wanting convenience, I first sunk a well, cost me £5., and then built a back building, cost me about £50. this year. The first cost of the house was £75. Having now assigned all my goods in trade to my nephew, as is aforesaid, I took an inspection into the rest of my effects, and found that, over and above what I owed to all and any person, my clear estate was near £5,000., that I hoped would be good; omitting what I thought was dubious.

My niece, Elin Stout, having been my housekeeper since her sister Jennet's marriage, and having occasion to market among the butchers, she came into the acquaintance and company of Thomas Cort, a young

man, a chandler by trade; which I was displeased at, and told her parents of, dissuading her and them to discourage their future courtship for some time, of consideration. But in the meantime, as there was two troops of the Earl of Stair's dragoons, and my niece having often occasion to fetch water at their well, she fell into the company of a young dragoon, an Irishman, which, with the connivance of Fisher's wife, who was of an ordinary character, they kept company privately for some time, till John Fisher was so honest as to acquaint me of in time; upon which I went in a frosty and snowy night to her father's house for them to fetch her home. Her mother came the next morning, and, with much ado, got her to go home with her, to prevent their meeting again, which they both attempted to do; but her parents sent her to her sister Jennet Wright's, in Westmoreland, where she remained till the said dragoons marched out of the country, upon which she returned to her father's; when Thomas Cort renewed his courtship, and, with her parents' consent, married her; which was very generous, after such an escape of ruining herself on a soldier. It was on the 22nd of eleventh month this year, when I sent her home; and three days after I sent into Westmoreland for Hannah Eglin, whom I knew, to be my house-keeper; who came the 25th, and continued with me about fourteen months. Although I had quite left my nephew William's shop, he had hitherto boarded and lodged with me. But seeing no reformation in him, but that he was running into ruin, I was uneasy with him and he also for my advising him; so he left my house and went to board at Mrs. Chippindall's, along with some people of fashion and freedom like himself, where he continued till he married, the next year.

1729.—I having finished the back building in Penny-street, to keep myself in employ I pulled down the fore part to the street, and built it up; being ten yards long, eight yards broad, and eight yards deep; all which cost me about £200.; so the first cost and the charge of building cost me about £320. in a dear season. For this year was very dear for all provisions; which falls heavy upon the public-houses who have dragoons; who [the publicans] will advance 2s. a-week for any who will maintain them with meat and hay, with the king's pay; and there being 100 horses, they eat much corn, which sharps the market for meal. The price of corn here the beginning of the year was, best wheat at 23s., oats 8s., oatmeal 16s., beans 16s. a windle [? 220 lb.], and potatoes at 10s. a load or windle. It appears by the Custom House books at Liverpool, that there has been imported there 35,000 of our windles of corn of sundry sorts; which, upon a moderate computation, will be £20,000.; and great quantities more were expected there. There was

some flour imported here from America, and about 600 load of wheat and oats from Hamburg; which I had the disposing of for Alderman Gildert, of Liverpool, and corn was continually brought into Liverpool till harvest; and it was computed that there was imported into this county and Cheshire this year, corn to the value of £100,000.; and the markets kept up till harvest. Our market was mostly supplied with meal out of Westmoreland, and the corn to the south of this town [Lancaster] carried to Preston. The harvest was very early, and the market supplied with new corn, the latter end of the 6th month. Wheat at 12s., oatmeal at 8s. a windle, and potatoes at 4s. a windle; and many who imported corn late, lost very much by it, or lost it. The last part of this year was excessively wet, and great damage done, and people drowned by the overflowing of rivers, and damage in cellars, by the water springing up in them and in the fields.

I having quite left my nephew William Stout, I entertained his fourth sister, Margaret Stout, who was sent by her parents to assist or attend her brother William in his shop, where she continued sometime, till I was advised that she kept company with Isaac Nicholson—(a young man, a grocer by trade, but of a loose conversation)—frequently at a neighbour's house; which I was very much concerned at, knowing him to be no way hopeful, and her brother very careless and negligent. Upon which I was very urgent with her parents to take her home, which they thought but light of at first, and she unwilling; but with much ado I got her home and desired her parents to keep her out of his company, which she unwillingly did. But in less than a month after he locked up his shop, and quite left the country, and never returned, to the great loss of his creditors, who took what he had among them.

1730.—In the beginning of this year Thomas Fox, the carrier betwixt this town and Preston and Kendal, broke, who was £30. in my debt, and in some hundred pounds in all, for the payment of which he assigned all his effects to me and his wife's brother, who died soon after, so that the management fell wholly on me, which I effected to the satisfaction of all his creditors, who were paid 18s. in the pound, and gave him full discharges. In the 12th month, 1729, William Wyld, an ancient but a very honest man, died, who left the small effects he had by his will to me to dispose of, and pay as ordered, which I did to the legatees' satisfaction.

In the fourth month this year I gave up housekeeping, and let my house to Mary and Lidia Dilworth, and boarded and lodged with them at the rate of £12. a-year, and continued with them, and they in the house, three years. In the 2nd month this year was the

great meeting of the north; [it] was kept at Lancaster, and [was] large and quiet.

Upon the 8th day of the 9th month this year, my nephew, William Stout, was married at Burton to Jennet Brabbin, daughter of Thomas Brabbin, of Beetham, who was brought up a gentlewoman; her parents lived great, but [were] in declining circumstance, and unable to give her a portion in any degree equal to her situation; and his taking her was without the advice, knowledge, or consent of any of his relations, or her parents informing themselves how I had forsaken him; so that they found no entertainment from me or his parents, we being sensible that he had nigh wasted what he had, and [that he] had no certainty of getting any portion with his wife, nor had saved any. Some time before that, and after his sister Margaret had left him, he took to apprentice James Rigg, son of Hannah Rigg, of Kendal, with whom he had £40.

In this year I made an adventure in the ship *Love* to Riga, of £200. in money, being one-twelfth of £2,400. cargo. The ship made this voyage in due time, and came full laden in flax, hemp, and iron, which was sold, and the amount paid up at the year end. I then found that my profit for £200. for a year was only £4. 19s. 4d., which discouraged me from making any more adventures that way; but this was much like the adventure I formerly made, where I did not lose the whole adventure.

In this year there was a great crop of corn, and the price was reduced to half what it was last year, viz.: wheat to 10s.; barley, 4s. 6d.; oats, 3s. 4d.; and others in proportion; potatoes, 2s. 6d. a load; and yet it is supposed that the farmers will get more by corn this year than the last year, when it sold at about double the price. They continued the importation of corn in Liverpool too long, and there was in Liverpool in the harvest 33,000 windles [? 220 lb.] of foreign corn, wheat, rye, and barley, and no sale for it after the new came off the grounds; which filled their warehouses so as they had no room for their other merchandise, and it was supposed they lost more by that on hand, than they got in the dearth of it; the warehouse room of that on hand is computed at £20. a-week. All provisions plenty and cheap; and the linen, woollen, and iron manufactures sell well; but flax, wool, and iron cheap; spinning advanced one-fourth, so that labouring people may live comfortably, which they should remember.

John Stout, my brother Leonard's youngest son, being now about sixteen years of age, and had been brought up at school mostly, but not improved so much as might have been expected,—I myself advised his parents to bring him up in husbandry, considering how his brother

William proved so wild and prodigal; and I proposed, if he was industrious and frugal, to buy him an estate of £40. a-year value. But this offer would not be accepted of; but he would be a draper, or mercer, or a gentleman, which his parents did encourage him to; and contrary to my mind they contracted with Edward Holme, a draper in Kendal, to bind him to be apprentice for seven years, and to give £40. with him, expecting that I would pay it, and, though unwillingly, I paid that sum, and also paid for his clothes much of his apprenticeship.

In this year there [was] no war in any part of Europe, and our king and his parliament seemed to accord very well. There was an act passed that the duties on salt shall cease the 25th of the 10th month this year, which will be an ease to the poor, and country farmers and labourers; being a farmer of £20. a-year useth as much salt as many gentlemen of some hundred pounds a-year use, and the great consumption of salt is in the country, and more in the north than in the south, or in great towns and cities; and it affects trade much. The last year being a dearth of corn, increased the poor, so that our poor-tax was increased from £100. to £200. a-year, upon which a house was hired to entertain the poor in, to be maintained without going a-begging, and to employ such as were able to work in some employ, and a person to set them on work; upon which many that used to beg, finding themselves stopped from begging, fell to work rather than to be confined to the poor-house.

1731.—Upon Thomas Cort's marriage of my niece, Elin Stout, although without my approbation, I then gave them £20. in money, and found bedding and other household goods, to the value of £5.; and the last year I gave him £50. in money; and I having now finished my new house in Penny-street, I settled it upon him and his wife, or the longer liver of them, for life; and, after their death, to the heirs of her body for ever, paying me £5. a-year for my life,—which he seemed well pleased with, and paid me £5. for the first year; but afterwards in his passion, or when he had got too much strong liquor, which often put him into distraction, he gave it out that I had overreached him, and that I had not given the house to him, but to his sons, and publicly reflected on me, which was some uneasiness to me: but as it was invested in trustees of his own naming, for the use aforesaid, I would not revoke or alter it; but, to prevent any uneasiness in his family, I discharged him of the payment of the £5. a-year for my life. The first cost of the house, and rebuilding it up, cost me at least £380., which, with what I gave him before, makes above £400.; and, although he behaved ungratefully as aforesaid, yet he was diligent in his trade, and improved himself, which was to my satisfaction.

In the seventh month of this year, Robert Gibson, Esquire, a lawyer, and recorder of this borough, went to Appleby in Westmoreland, upon a commission on behalf of the Earl of Tennat [? Thanet]; and, soon after he got there, he was in the company of some gentlemen, very cheerfully diverting themselves in free discourse, when he was seized with death, being seemingly well and dead in a few minutes. He could not be brought here, nor remain unburied till his wife might get thither; so was buried there. He was about fifty-five years of age, and died without having made a will. He had been recorder here about twenty-five years, and was a lawyer of the most repute in this county, Westmoreland, or Cumberland, and had great business, and [was] faithful to his clients of all religious persuasions or parties. He was a justice of peace till the Rebellion, and was then thought to favour the party who was dissatisfied with the government, and so was discharged; but while in commission [he] acted very impartially, and particularly in the prosecution of the Quakers for tithes, &c. I had often occasion to advise with him in my trust on Metcalfe's affairs and others, and he was always free and sincere with me, and very moderate in his fees. The papists and disaffected to the government had a great dependance on him, and he too much inclined that way, and in his last years intruded gentlemen into the council of the town who were not agreeable to the friends of the government. He was a discourager of vexatious suits, and the extortions of the attorneys, and will be much missed in this country in many difficult causes and conveyances.

In the fourth month this year, my nephew, William Stout, was in great straits with his creditors, who, observing his prodigality, threatened to sue him, and he applied to me; upon which I urged him to assign his goods and what was owing to him, and also what he owed, that I might know what to pay to his creditors; which he did, and by the account given in, he had in goods about £400., and money owing him about £350., and that he owed in all about £600.; upon which I entered upon his effects, in order to get him clear, which made the creditors easy. For the proposal, I offered to pay half in six months certain, and the rest in twelve months, if his effects would extend to it; which I hoped it would by the account he had given me. Upon which, though unwillingly, I entered upon the shop, and took in his apprentice, James Rigg, but excluded him [William Stout] from the shop, and sorted shop and served the customers as formerly; but in a little time perceived that he owed more than he had given me account of; and found that what he owed was £930., so that he owed above £300. more than he gave me account of; and the debts owing to him did not amount to

more than £240., so there was above £100. short in them, so that I found his effects would not pay above 15s. in the pound of what he owed, which at first I thought for to propose to his creditors; but seeing many of them were my own particular friends, and he my near relative, and I had recommended him to them, I proposed to pay them in full of what was owing to them; all which I did in about a year's time, and kept the shop stocked. But I was weary of the business, and minded to sell all the goods together and to get my nephew into other business; but he pretended he was sensible of his misconduct, and doubted not but that they might do better of it than any other business. He had hitherto got nothing with his wife, and her father, Thomas Brabbin, said he would give him £200.; but she was a gentlewoman, and knew nothing of business or housekeeping to encourage a trade; so that I saw small hopes of their doing well in any business of trade.

This year has been extremely drougty, and has also put quite a stop to the sale of cattle; but corn proved good and is very low, and also provisions of all sorts cheap; and our linen, woollen, and iron manufactories sell well, and spinning is at the highest. The ship of 800 tons sent by the South Sea Company last year to Porto Bello, with about £300,000. worth of our manufactories, returned this year, and has brought double the value she carried out, which gives great encouragement to trade. The river Loyne [Lune] was so low this summer, and so sanded, that I went round several of the pillars [piers] dry at each end of it [the bridge].

1732.—I had for above a year managed the shop, and in that time paid all my nephew's debts, amounting to £930., and had then thought of selling off the goods that were in stock, having little hopes of his ever managing a trade to profit, being I could not observe that in this year he had been excluded the shop, he had showed any sensible remorse for his past mismanagement; but he applied to his wife's father, Thomas Brabbin, to assist him in beginning the trade again, who offered to give him £200. to begin with, and which his said father Brabbin proposed to me, upon which I told him that I had no hopes of his doing well, and that if he gave him £200. and I another £200., it might fit them four years, and no longer, and then they would be in the same condition as now. So [I] advised them to think of some other employ, but, as they insisted upon it, and I being desirous to be quit of the shop, I admitted him into the shop again, and left in it, which I now gave him, in goods for sale at the first cost, amounting to £260., with all weights, scales, and utensils, and shop and house rent free. And, as I was informed, his wife's father gave him also at that time £160., so that they had all their

debts paid and £400. to begin anew, also £20. to receive with his apprentice James Rigg. It was in the 5th month this year that they began again; but Thomas Brabbin, his wife's father, died in a short time, his children having with high living much troubled him. I first gave my nephew William Stout (and after I had brought him up and educated him till he was 22 years of age) then giving him above £400., and last year paid his debts, which amounted to £200. more than his effects would amount to, and now given him goods for sale cost £240.; so that he now hath had from me above £800. in four years' time, besides house rent, and shop rent free, and the use of all materials for the trade free, all in condescension to his and her parents' request, but not in much hopes of their improvement, or sense of gratitude for what I had done for them; and in a little time after they began again, I perceived they were going into the way of management and living which would bring all to nothing in the time I foresaw.

This year was plentiful of all provisions, corn cheap, and trade good; so that the labouring people lived well; but it being drougthy all over the kingdom, cattle would not sell at any price, and people, for fear of winterage, killed them that were in good order, so that beef was from 1½d. to 2d. a pound, the best; all which was a hardship on the poor farmers. There was a company or corporation in London called the Charitable Corporation, who proposed to lend money to poor people on pledges, at low interest, upon which many contributed to some hundred thousand pounds, but they proved cheats, and the contributors lost their money, to the ruin of many families.

1733.—In the beginning of this year Thomas Hall, who married my brother Leonard's eldest daughter Elizabeth, about twelve years since, died [and] left her a widow with two children, twins, about ten years of age. They married when they were both very young, and not very hopeful for trade; he had little to begin with, and her father at times gave them nigh £200., but they had not from me above £30., being I was in expectation they or their children would become a charge. As he grew straitened he fell to drinking brandy or spirits, which shortened his days, and she was indolent and thoughtless. After his death my brother Leonard desired me to go to Cartmell, where he died, to inspect his affairs, where I found his shop in great disorder, also his books. I perceived he had lost much of his credit, and his shop unsorted; so [I] was some days in re-sorting it, and making a valuation of his goods and book debts, which I found would fall short of paying his just debts, or what he owed, and so advised her to give up all to the creditors, so that they might have equal shares, and not that some might get nothing

and others all ; and, as soon as what he owed was known, it appeared that not above 13s. 4d. in the pound could be paid, and upon my stating the concern to the creditors, it was accepted. His effects were about £120., and he owed £180. Her father took her and her two children, and I engaged to contribute to their maintenance £10. a-year, being her late husband had no parents, nor any relations who were able or willing to give them entertainment. The widow had been infirm from a child, and now grew worse, and often had fits of coughing and phlegm, so that she was not thought of surviving her fits. Her son and daughter were kept to school and learning, to fit them for service or apprenticeship.

It now appearing to parliament that there is bouds now standing out for the duty of wine and tobacco, which, if presented, would ruin the bondsmen, it was now projected to turn the customs of them into an excise, to be paid by the retailer upon consumption, which method was approved of by the majority of the parliament, and by most prudent and impartial people ; but it gave a great deal of alarm to the clandestine dealers in wine and tobacco ; and the Jacobites, and disaffected to the government, took in with them, and petitions [were] sent from all parts of the kingdom against it. They represented it to the people as if they were about to excise all eatables and clothes. They were so offended that the mayor of London, aldermen, and common council, and others, to the number of 800, went to the parliament in 200 coaches with a petition against it, which much astonished the parliament that they should bring their petition in such a tumultuous or riotous manner, and [the house] unanimously voted it as seditious, and a slight of their authority. Upon a vote, it was carried for an excise, 265 against 201, but, considering what a ferment the nation was in about it, they thought fit to drop or postpone it ; upon which the principal fomenters of the opposition made a great rejoicing, and bonfires all over the kingdom, and made effigies of Robert Walpole and other ministers, and burned them in their fires, to the great grief of all friends to the government, and to the true interest of England.

Amboras [Ambrose] Gillison having bought the house adjoining to mine, near the market cross to the west, which was all thatched, was intending to pull it down and build it anew, and proposed that, if I would rebuild mine to the street, which was also thatched, we might build a wall betwixt us on equal ground and charge. Considering what danger we were in of fire, most of the houses from the upper end of his house being of wood, and thatched, to the corner of the Butchers' Shambles, and not one stone partition-wall in that length, save one, and a public oven, in a bad low thatched building, not thirty yards from

mine, I resolved to rebuild mine, and in order provided material, and pulled it down in the third month, this year, and my nephew William Stout removed his goods into the warehouse on the back side, whilst it was a-building, about six months. This kept me in employ this year, and it cost me, with a half house in the garden for turf, about £130. I would have had my neighbour, Thomas Townson, on the east end, to have built along with me, but he would not, and I had some difficulty to carry up that end without his concurrence; but, when he saw we had done it without him, he also pulled his house down, which was also thatched, and rebuilt [it] that winter.

This year plenty of all provisions; corn very low; wheat, 9s.; barley, 5s.; oats, 3s. a windle [? 220 lb.]; butter, 2½d. to 3d. a pound; best cheese, 15s. a cwt.; potatoes, 2s. 6d. a load; beef, 1½d. to 2d. a pound; pork, 2d.; and other butchers' meat proportional, and great plenty of fruit; also cattle very low, and few sold. This went hard with poor farmers, and broke many, and lessened the rent of lands; but in the south great quantities of corn were shipped off to France, Spain, and Italy. It was computed that there was exported this year from London and the south ports, 800,000 quarters of corn, which may be computed at one million sterling, which was a great relief to the farmers. But trade was very good this year; woollen, linen, and iron manufactories, and great wages of spinning and other labouring people, so that what husbandry lost, was got in trade. We being at peace with all nations, merchants ventured largely, but complained that their returns were not so good as expected, to their future discouragement.

In the third month this year, the king acquainted the parliament that a marriage was contracted with the Prince of Orange and his step-daughter, the princess royal, which was well received by them; and they gave the king, as a portion for her, £80,000. A committee was appointed by parliament to make a discovery of such persons as were guilty of the frauds committed by the managers of the Charitable Corporation mentioned last year, and found four members of parliament guilty, and expelled them the house, and others who are now prosecuted, but the money [is] gone to the Pretender at Rome; upon which parliament have enacted a lottery, the benefit of which is to be employed for the relief of the sufferers by it.

Robert Jepson, of Skearton [Skerton], and Jane his wife, before marriage were each heirs to a good estate of land, and, by their marriage settlement, if they had no heirs begot or born to survive them, the survivor of them should have both their estates. They were married many years, but had no child; upon which the wife was desirous that the

marriage settlement should be destroyed, and each of their estates should descend to their several heirs, which, upon her much uneasiness, he seemed to consent to, and had a copy of the settlement, which he produced as the original, and destroyed it before her, which at that time made her easy. They had also each a personal estate which, by agreement, each should manage for their separate disposal, upon which she made her securities in the name of trustees for her own use, and Dr. James Fenton and Thomas Sherson, Esq., were her trustees, during their lives; and after their decease she desired me to undertake the trust, and I consented to make use of my name; and their affairs remained so for many years, till she grew very infirm, and it was supposed by all her neighbours that her real estate would descend to her heirs after her and her husband's death; but her husband, upon some occasion, gave out that the marriage settlement was in being, and not destroyed, and showed it upon occasion, which she getting knowledge of, was very uneasy at, as also all neighbours, being he had several good estates of his own, with personal estate, in all to the value of £5,000.; and she by her frugality and a personal estate her father left her, had improved it to above £500., which she was careful to secure from her husband, and to dispose of by her will; and that her husband, who had acted so deceitfully, should not have it at her decease. In her sickness she sent for me, and desired me to take upon me to be an executor of her will, which I told her I was not willing to undertake alone, supposing her husband, surviving her, might cause some trouble: upon which her near relations advised her to name John Casson and William Bryer, along with me. At that time, she put into my hands all her securities, and above £100. in gold,—her husband not knowing it; and she got a will drawn, and executed it accordingly: and soon after, in the 2nd month this year, died;—and in that will had disposed what she had proportionally to her several relations, and to promote schools in Skerton, Quarmor [Quernmore], and Ellel, in a charitable manner: upon which we undertook the execution. She left her husband a legacy of £5., which he was not willing to accept of; and we were concerned to get his discharge before he knew what effects his wife left us in trust; and, he being covetous of ready money, we offered him £20. above his legacy, which he accepted of, and gave us a general release from all demands of his wife's effects: but, after he knew them, repented. He was a very covetous man, and by his will disposed of her paternal estate in Skerton, worth £500., without any regard to her relations, or giving any legacies to any charitable uses. He died about seven years after her, and his relations are at suit about his estates.

1784.—I had let my dwelling house to Mary Dilworth for four years last past, and boarded with her and her sister, and now they left it, the 1st of 3rd month, this year, and my nephew, William Stout, had dwelt in Benjamin Greenwood's house three years, for which I paid the rent, and I having now finished the street part of the house, and he entered into the shop, for his conveniency I let them dwell in the house, and I resolved to keep house, and dwell in the rooms over the shop, and to take my brother Leonard's two youngest daughters, Margaret and Mary, to be my housekeepers; and made provision accordingly, hoping and expecting that they would have been capable, diligent, and subject to my direction; my occasions then being easy, and they had leisure by turns to improve themselves. And particularly I gave Margaret advice to be careful whom she contracted familiarity or freedom with; and remember how narrowly she escaped being entangled and ruined by and with Isaac Nicholson, as aforesaid. But, without due regard to me or my advice, in three months time I perceived she kept company with a young man at that time in no way acceptable to me, which I cautioned her against, but without regard to me or my advice, she continued to accompany with him, or purposely to fall into his way. I advised her parents of it, and told them and her that I should not keep her longer, but must send her home. Upon the 12th of the tenth month, this year, I had occasion to go to Boulton, and at my return I met her near Slyne, on horseback, behind Gaulter [Walter] Burnskill, going to her father's, and passed by them, without my speaking to them, or they to me, supposing they were going to be married; but when I got home, I was soon told that they were married at Lancaster that day, when I was gone, which very much troubled me and her parents, so that I could take no further notice of her, and put me upon considering the care and pains that I and my dear sister Elin [Ellen] had taken for bringing up and perfectment, and how I had been slighted hitherto by most of them. Her sister Mary was often out of health, or pretended so, being always indulged by their mother, that I could not depend anything on her, so gave over housekeeping, and boarded with my nephew William Stout, and allowed him £20. a-year for the same, but kept the rooms to lodge in; but I was not easy there, seeing that they were going to ruin, and providing costly household goods, and making entertainments, and he much from his shop, upon expense, not regarding and [but] slighting any advice I gave them.

Great contest and much money spent this year upon the election of a new parliament. The election for the borough was on the 2nd of third month this year. The candidates were Sir Thomas Lowther,

Robert Fenwick, Allen Harrison, and Captain Hamilton. They polled three days, by which Lowther had 615; Fenwick, 525; Harrison, 445; and Hamilton, 352 votes,—upon which Lowther and Fenwick were declared duly elected, who had most of the gentry and substantial farmers, being they were neighbours born, and of good estate. It was computed it might cost them all £5,000. and particularly Harrison, £2,000. Hamilton came in as his second, and hung most of his charge on Harrison. There was also a great contest at Liverpool, supposed 2,000 polled, Boothe and Cunlife [Cunliffe] against Brearton and Gildart; the latter carried it by about forty votes, and were returned duly elected. Also for Yorkshire there was a poll for ten days, betwixt Chulmley [Cholmondeley] Turner and Sir Rowland Wynn, joint, against Sir Miles Stapleton and Wortley Montague; but was carried by majority for Turner and Stapleton; Wynn came short about forty in polling 15,000 freeholders: it is supposed it cost them £30,000.

Since Alice Greenwood and her daughter Spencer died, I have had the care of letting and managing Benjamin Greenwood's estate in Lancaster, for which he was always grateful; and he intending to bring his wife hither, I was much employed this year in getting it into repair, with many additions and alterations, which was to his satisfaction. He and his wife and family came to Lancaster in the 7th month this year. The beginning of this year, my nephew, Leonard Stout, was married to Rebecca Robinson, of Finstead, with consent of his parents, her's being dead. Her mother was second wife of John Caton, of Hatlex, but died many years since.

This year we have peace, and plenty of all things; corn very, very low, and cattle cheap, and cattle beef to be sold in all parts of the nation from 1d. to 2d. a pound, pork the same, butter 3d., best cheese 15s. to 16s. a cwt., potatoes 2s. 6d. a load, which is very hard upon husbandmen and farmers; but trades of all sorts are good, and great wages for servants, journeymen, and spinning. Great quantities of corn shipped off from London and the south ports of England to most foreign parts; insomuch that it is computed [it] will pay £140,000. this year for bounty money, at 5s. a quarter. There being now heavy wars in Poland upon the election of a king, Dantzick besieged and much destroyed, from whence most of Europe was supplied with corn, and now the country is so ruined that they fear a famine there; as also in Germany, on both sides of the Rhine, for some hundred miles, all is laid waste by the French against the emperor. Also in Lombardy, the French, Spaniards, and Savoyards, jointly against the emperor, have laid waste that country, and in several battles each side have lost 20,000 men.

1735.—This year has been peaceable, and plenty of corn and all provisions in all our king's dominions, but great wars and distress in Poland, Germany, and Italy. There has been exported from England last year, and the beginning of this year, 74,224 quarters of barley, 223,174 quarters of malt, 3,028 quarters of oatmeal, 10,735 quarters of rye, and 498,158 quarters of wheat; in all, 805,367 quarters; which may be computed at 2,000 ship loads of 100 tons each, for which the king has paid for the bounty money, nigh £200,000.; yet corn at London and the south, where [it] is shipped, is cheaper than it is here in the north. Cattle very low; beef very good, 1½d., pork 2d. a pound.

Gualter [Walter] Burnskill, who my niece Margaret married, from want of other business, went this year a factor for some merchants here to Barbadoes, where he had been before, and took a place for his wife; and although they have gone together in such a clandestine and ungrateful manner to me, I did contribute about £10. to fit her with some household goods, till such time as she might be sensible of the slight she had given me. I this year continued to eat with my nephew William Stout, for which I paid him in money £20. the year, but lodged in the street rooms, and had a fire as there was occasion, and only came to my victuals in the house, being no way easy with their way of living, or his conduct abroad, he being so outward and expensive, and led by some persons, and a party who voted him to be bailiff for the commons this year, which took him off his business, and to the ale-house, which I took would sooner bring him to lose his trade, and cause him to become insolvent.

I had not much public business this year, but passed my time much in reading, and writing my observations of my own and public affairs for many years past, and what related to the religious society I was in communion with. This year I purchased the Hollow Meadow, in Boulton, [which] was Mary Hutton's [Hutton's], of her trustees, Geldart and Smith, for which I paid £50.

It being the custom of this borough that the present mayor and bailiffs have each a power to give the freedom each one to whom they please, my nephew, William Stout, brought in his father, Leonard Stout, a freeman, which he took the opportunity of in order to qualify him to bring his son John in a freeman, who was apprenticed at Kendal, as a freeman's son, for 20s., otherwise he would not have got his freedom to begin his trade here under the most of £20. After his son Leonard's marriage, he and family dwelt at Hathorne House, in Boulton, one year, but now dwell at Slyne, in the house his son Leonard bought of Robert

Marshall, where he continued till the death of our brother Josias ; his daughter, Elizabeth Hall, and her two children, dwell with him, to whom I contributed to him £10. in money, and to his said daughter provision for many necessaries.

1736.—Upon the 10th day of the second month, this year, I took a journey to Whitehaven, to the general meeting of our friends there, which I performed with as much ease as when I was about twenty years of age, although I was now entered into the seventy-second year of my age. I have hitherto had my health very well, and have not been at one shilling expense to either doctor, apothecary, physic, or surgery, for thirty years last past ; and I have hitherto accustomed myself to rise at the sunrise in summer, and walk a round of two miles in the morning, in different ways each day of the week, and in my garden an hour or more in the evening. I began to use spectacles at fifty years of age, and could not see to write or read without them till I was seventy years old ; but, since then, my eyesight had returned gradually, so that I can now see to write or read without them ; yet when I write or read much, I use them to preserve my sight.

Upon the 27th day of the second month, this year, the Princess Augusta, sister to the Prince of Saxe Gotha, came to London ; and, in pursuance of a pre-contract, was married to Frederick, Prince of Wales, King George's eldest son, to general satisfaction, as is signified by addresses from both houses of parliament, and from most cities and societies in Great Britain and Ireland. She is of the family of the Elector of Saxony, who first protected Martin Luther in the Reformation, from popery, and was the first sovereign prince in Europe that protested against popery, for which he was prosecuted by war by the then Emperor of Germany, with the loss of his dominions.

In the eighth month, this year, John Burnskill died. He was a grocer and ironmonger by trade, was a widower, but had no child. He had been twice bailiff, and in that time upon occasions frequently upon expenses and drinking, so as to impair his health and get a habit of it, which, I think, forwarded his death. His only brother, Gaulter [Walter], arrived from his voyage from Barbadoes about two weeks before his death. He made a will, and appointed his said brother executor, who desired me to be assistant in taking an inventory and make appraisement of his goods, which I did, being of the same trade, I had been in the practice, and found that he had oversorted his goods, in the ironmongery way especially, more than ever I did when I had the most trade. The year before he died he had purchased the shop and house, and appurtenances, and about three acres of land from one

Mason, in Ireland ; but the shop and house were very old, [of] wood and clay, and thatch much out of repair, and he had provided bricks and some other materials, to repair them without pulling them down, or building anew, as all his neighbours advised him to, but had not done much before he died. His brother Walter having some knowledge in the trade, after administration taken, entered upon it with the assistance of an apprentice then in being.

1737.—The shop and houses, now Gualter Burnskill's, who married my niece, Margaret Stout, being situate in the best of the Market Place, and being the worst and most decayed of any there, I had for many years wished that they might be built to be regular with them adjoining, and safe from fire ; and observing that he was about patching them, and not altering the roofs, I offered to pull them down and rebuild them at my own charge, in respect to his wife and ornament to the Market Place, and disposing of part of what I had acquired in the view of it. And upon the beginning of the third month this year, we pulled it down, and removed his goods to the back part, sunk a cellar, and raised the corner part of it about seven yards square, and got it covered, so as he got his goods into the new shop at Michaelmas fair ; and after that, this year, we pulled down the next part, about seven yards square, and cellared it, and got it up and boarded it, before the end of the year, to be ready for a tenant the next year. The charge of what I built this year was nigh £200. John Burnskill had an apprentice, a son of James Rawnson's, of Heaton, who was riding a horse that was unruly : he cast him off, and, his leg being entangled in the stirrup, he was dragged after him till he was killed ; after which, Gualter [Walter] Burnskill took William Hall, my niece Elizabeth Hall's son, to be his apprentice, upon his grandfather's and my encouragement and assistance, for seven years, from June, 1737.

In the beginning of this year, there was a general distemper of violent coughs and colds all over the nation, of which many died. I was sorely afflicted with it nigh two months, but it went off in time, without using any medicine but patience. But in the third month this year, which was wet and hot, and when I had just pulled down Gualter Burnskill's shop, I was seized with a great indisposition to business or activity, which I feared would affect me so that I should not be capable to go forward to build what I had pulled down ; and now thought I must patiently submit to age and infirmities that attend it. I continued so some weeks, but in a month I was restored to my former activity, to direct and help forward my undertaking, and also to undertake and manage a greater trouble which speedily followed.

I hitherto continued with my nephew, William Stout, but in daily expectation of his breaking; and about Michaelmas this year I perceived he had suffered himself to be sued and nigh to have executions against him, upon which I urged him to give account of what he owed, and to whom. He said he owed but about £200., but I was now convinced that he would not recover it, and had not his liberty but upon bail, and his sureties [were] ready to give [him] up to prison; with much ado [I] got him to shut up his shop, and assign over his effects in trust to some persons to sell and collect for the benefit of all his creditors, so far as the same would extend to pay. At the same time he pretended that he had sufficient to pay all his debts and much more. To avoid imprisonment, or execution on his goods, he assigned them over to Joshua Bryer, Thomas Butterfield, and me, for the use aforesaid, but was grown so careless of his own interest or reputation that he gave no assistance in the disposal or collecting his effects, [so] that it wholly fell upon me; the other two were but only nominal, for the gratification of the creditors. We got possession of the shop and books to prevent executions; and his apprentice James Rigg being out of his apprenticeship a few months, I got his assistance to make a particular schedule of his goods at the price they cost, and cast up his books, and offered James Rigg the goods at a considerable abatement of the first cost; and he had inclination to take the shop, house, and warehouse, which I was willing he should have before any other to continue it in the same trade; but about this time my nephew John Stout, who was apprenticed at Kendal, was out of his time and minded to begin his trade in Lancaster, which I would have him dissuaded, thinking it liker to begin where he was acquainted than among strangers; but his parents and relations were for his settling here, and also in my shop; and in order thereto, and to remove James Rigg, the neighbours of the same trade proposed to take the goods upon an abatement less than James Rigg proposed, so the shop goods were sold to John Goad, William Satterthwaite, and Gualter Burnskill, and the household-goods in a public sale; the whole amounting to £395.; and it appeared that what he owed was £515., so that a composition was offered of 15s. in the pound, which was accepted by all his creditors, who gave full discharges thereupon; and so he was a second time stripped of what he had, and had a wife and two children, and nothing to support them, nor any to depend upon but me, who continued with them this year to sell, receive, and pay, all which I did without any assistance from him, which gave me much trouble, and their whole dependence resting upon me for their maintenance.

Upon the 20th day of the 9th month this year, Caroline, Queen of Great Britain, died, aged about 55 years, after about ten days' apparent illness. The distemper was said to be a mortification in her bowels. She had been married to King George 32 years; has left two sons and five daughters, the eldest married to the Prince of Orange, the rest unmarried. She was daughter of the Prince of Brandeburg-Auspach, near unto Nuremberg, in Germany. She was of a great capacity for government, and courteous to all ranks of people and religious professions, and even to such as were not well affected to the government; she had a great influence over the king, so that many who are well-wishers to the government, fear that she will be much wanted in maintaining the same; and the disaffected are in hopes and expectation of some change in the ministry in their favour. She was very careful for [the] nurture and education of her daughters, and to be in some employment.

1738.—In the 6th month last past, my nephew, John Stout, was out of his apprenticeship, at Kendal, and I advised him to begin trade there, where he was known, if not to think of other business, which I should encourage him in; but he and his parents, brothers and sisters, were all for him settling in Lancaster, and in my shop, which I advised against, as being in the full view of three of the principal men in the trade; but rather to take a shop near the butcher corner, which they would not comply with, so I let him the shop and cellar to the street at a certain rent, to pay to his brother William, and at the same time had James Rigg, who would have taken it and the cellars and warehouses backwards at a good rent, which would have prevented some inconvenience I after suffered. Yet in condescension, in the 12th month, 1737, I advanced and gave him, my nephew John Stout, £300. in money to begin with, and this month he went to London to buy goods and opened the shop for trade the next month, and boarded and lodged with his brother and sister Gualter and Margaret Burnskill; and what I gave him as is aforesaid it is more than double what I began my trade with in 1688.

My older brother Josias Stout was born the 30th day of the 9th month, in the year 1662, was only educated to read English, and writing, and accounts. He was put to husbandry very young; our father being a very industrious husbandman, who died in the year 1680. My said brother being 18 years of age then, and our mother and he, with the assistance of a good man and maid servant, carried on the husbandry of our father's ancient estate, which he left him with an easy charge upon it, which they continued to husband about twenty years, and then our mother, being near 70 years of age, was not able or disposed to continue housekeeping. He let the estate to farm some years and was with his brother Leonard,

but his tenants proving not good, in a few years he entered upon it again to manage it with servants, till he was about forty-six years of age, and then he married Sibill Green, daughter of Thomas Green, of Boulton Holmes, aged about thirty-two years, in the year 1707. My said brother was a quiet and an easy man, and industrious in husbandry, and gave his wife very much liberty of her own disposition, who was always bountiful to her own relations as she had no child of her own, nor like to have; so that they did not much improve their estate. My said brother was a healthy man, but his wife was somewhat infirm and much declining some years before her death, which was about the middle of the 12th month this year, 1737. After my brother Josias had buried his wife as aforesaid, he was minded to have his brother Leonard and family, who now dwelt at Slyne, to come to dwell with him, which accordingly they did, and seemed to their mutual satisfaction; but, upon his wife's death he was minded to make some alterations in his will, which he had made nine years ago, and he was with me at Lancaster the first day of the second month [April], 1738, seemingly in good health, and cheerful as I had seen him, and told me his design to alter his will, and told me wherein, desiring me to note the alteration, and get it drawn at leisure; but upon the 4th day of this month he was seized with vomiting and could not digest his victuals; but went out upon his ordinary occasions till the 6th day in morning, and about eight that morning he was mindful to lie down upon his bed in his clothes, not thinking anything but only that he had got a cold. But before the middle of that day he was deprived of his speech, or understanding, or the use of his right side. I had immediate notice of it, and was with him about two that afternoon, but could not perceive by any signs or tokens that he knew me. He continued breathing or working strongly against death all that night and next day, till near the sixth hour in the afternoon, 17th day of the month, and sixth day of the week, when he expired at his last breath. And some time before he vomited up much yellow corrupt matter, so that it may be supposed that there was some decay or rupture about the stomach or entrails [which] was the occasion of his so sudden death. I was with him at his death, as also his brother Leonard; and he was buried at Boulton, the 10th day of this month, being 75 years of age, the 30th day of the 9th month last past. He survived his wife but seven weeks, to whom he had been married about 28 years, and she was about 60 years old when she died. About nine years before my brother Josias died, he came to me, and told me he thought he must go shortly; upon which I queried why he thought so, upon which he said he had heard a loud voice calling several times "Josias, Josias!" and upon that

was minded to make his will. I told him that little notice was to be taken to what he feigned ; however, I advised [him] not to delay making his will, which was very necessary for every one to do whilst they were in good health and understanding ; upon which he advised with me how to do it, and told me that I was of good ability, and had no wife or issue, so he thought to dispose of what substance he had to our brother Leonard and his children, who then had a wife, three sons and five daughters, and some grandchildren. I told him that as to his personal estate he might devise it to whom as he pleased ; but as to the ancient freehold estate, I would not have him devise it to any ; and if I should die before him, it would descend to our brother Leonard, or his heir, but if I should survive him, it would descend to me, so advised him to charge it with legacies what he pleased, and leave the redemption of it to me if I survived, so as I might have a natural right, which I am of a mind should be preferred to an heir-at-law. And upon my said brother Josias's death, his will was produced, which he made nine years ago, by which he gave all his personal estate, which was considerable, to our brother Leonard, and gave some lands to his nephew, Leonard Stout, charged with some legacies, and charged two closes in Boulton with the payment of 20s. a-year to the poor in Boulton, and also charged his heir-at-law, whom I am now. And the rest of his real estate, of the yearly value of £20., was [charged] with the payment of £352. to my brother Leonard's children,—all which I paid as they became due, and let my brother Leonard remain upon the estate rent-free, and also as much more land in Boulton as cost me £160., also rent-free ; so that I have only the disposing of it or charge of it at my death, or sooner, as I pleased.

The beginning of this year I pulled down the remainder of Gualter Burnskill's old building, and was at the charge of cellaring it, and built it new, which took up most of my time this year and part of the next, and cost me nigh £200. I continued this year with my nephew, William Stout, and had much trouble in collecting his effects, and paying off his creditors, who were fifty-nine in number, he continuing all this time inactive and unconcerned for the trouble he had given me, but passed his time in idleness, his family living at my charge without any thought how they should live if I turned them out : which I told him I must do if he did not look out for a livelihood ; all which had no impression nor solid thought.

1739.—The beginning of this year I told my nephew William Stout and his wife that they must look out for a habitation somewhere, and that I was not willing they should stay with me, seeing no hope of his reforming or endeavours to betake himself to any business or any solid

thoughts about it; upon which he took a little house in the Moor Lane at the rent of £3. 16s., and at the same time I promised to give or allow them £40. a-year to live upon; and assigned him in rents £21. a-year clear of all taxes or repairs, and that the other £20. I would pay £5. a quarter; which accordingly I did. And on the 1st of the third month this year I began to keep house myself with a servant, and took Mary Hall, daughter of my niece Elizabeth Hall, into my house free, in order to her improving herself in learning. What provision I had promised my nephew William Stout, as is aforesaid, was thought by all his relations and friends sufficient, and more by many who considered what I had done for him and the waste he had made of it, and the little sense of gratitude [which] appeared in him.

The most part of this year I was fully employed in getting the back part or main house of Gualter Burnskill's finished. There being many new buildings erecting in the town this year, the masons and the wrights were so fully employed that it prolonged the time in finishing it.

In the third month this year, I was more open in my body, and not so costive as usual, which in a few days came to violent purging, for about six hours, till my body was quite exhausted, and then was seized with violent vomiting for six hours more, till my stomach and undigested nourishment was exhausted, which caused me much pain of body, and reduced me to great weakness. I laid for some time without getting any rest, but after some time got a milk and drink posset digested, and some time after got some roasted lamb digested; but after I had drunk some warm malt drinks, I vomited all up again; and in the evening got some chicken, and the broth, which I vomited. I then got a milk posset and some burnt brandy, which stayed with me, and that night I slept eight hours, and after had a good appetite and good digestion, and mended gradually, without making use of any other means. The occasion of this illness I could not apprehend, being never so before, and having had my health and a good appetite, and digestion of any sort of victuals that was set before me, and would never give orders for what I would have provided, or suffer my housekeeper to querie [inquire] what I liked, but was content with simple and plain meat and drink, such as was the product of our own country, without any sauce; even potatoes without butter.

Upon the 23rd of the tenth month this year began the long and sharp frost, which continued near two months. The first and second days of next month the snow fell about five or six inches. It fell mildly, so as not to drift no more in high land than in the plains, and soon froze to the ice, so made the ice as commodious to travel upon as the firm land. Betwixt Skerton Mill and Halton the river was passable for people,

horses, and carts, for many weeks. Both above and below the bridge it froze two foot thick in the neap tides, and in the spring tides it threw it all on heaps, two or three yards high, about the ships, and cut their cables and surrounded them. When the tides fell, the river was frozen in one day to bear a man. The severity of the frost killed abundance of fish, particularly eels, which were starved and taken up by horse loads; as also salmon. It killed the cockles and sand worms; and the sea-fowl which fed on them starved and ceased to be seen. Sheep starved, the ground being covered with frozen snow a month together. Many tradesmen [were] frozen out of their trades and employ, and starved for want of fire; coals and turf being at double prices, and obliged to wait two days at the pits or [ere] their turn came to be served. It continued sharp till the 20th of 11th month, and seemed to thaw 16 hours, but immediately became sharper to the end of that month. At London it did great damage among the ships, cutting their moorings and driving them on heaps, bulging and sinking many. The loss in that river was computed at £100,000. Many ships at sea had their sails and rigging so froze that they could not work them, but suffered them to drive on shore where many were lost, particularly coal ships; upon which coals at London came to about £3. a chaldron, and many people had starved, but that rich men who had stocks supplied them, and some thousand pounds [were] distributed. It froze up the mills, so that meal advanced a third part. About the 4th of the 12th month the sun had such influence as to melt the snow of the plain ground, so as the sheep got some relief; but on the 11th the severity of the frost returned, till the 18th and 19th, when we had some small showers of rain on the day, but frost in the night; but the thaw was so moderate, and little rain, that the ice melted away without damage to locks, wears, or bridges, or ships or boats. This frost was general all over Europe. They made a common road over the sea between Denmark and Sweden; also in Germany, France, and Italy, and Holland, their rivers were frozen, so as to make a great want of fuel and flour; and it drove the wild beasts out of the mountains and deserts into the open country, that had not been seen before. Most of the larks, black-birds, magpies, and other small birds, were driven into the hollow trees or caves in the earth, where they perished, there being few to be seen for some years after.

1740.—I continued to keep house with a servant as last year, and my nephew William Stout dwelt as last year without endeavouring to get into any business, but hung upon some gentleman or other who would treat him, and lived above my allowance. Gualter Burnskill yet

wanting a warehouse and stable, I offered to build him what I thought necessary with £50.; but he was for building a large warehouse, which I dissuaded him against, but I told him I would only contribute £50. towards building it. And I was then determined to make a fence wall to my field in the Moor Lane, where stones were to be got, and got him 500 cartloads of stones, and also got him all the roof timber, spars, joists, and deals for flooring, and doors, and slate, all laid on the place, which cost me £50.; so that he had only the workmanship in building to pay for, which was more than necessary to answer his occasions in his present trade.

In this year appeared the effects of the great frost the last winter. It appeared that much of the wheat sown was killed in the ground, and it proved at most but half a crop; and the coldness of the spring, and late seeding, made a failure in oats and barley; so that, in the summer, corn of all sorts advanced,—wheat to 20s., barley to 12s., oats to 7s., beans to 16s. a windle [220 lb.?] and feared a further advance, which caused disturbance in many places, by the mob attempting to take corn by force from such as had stocks, or attempted to ship it off, or to carry it to distant markets; upon which many fair dealers were sufferers;—but the dearth was general, both in Great Britain, and France, and Spain; and great quantities [were] brought from our colonies in North America, to supply our occasions. Also hay and straw was scarce,—hay, 6d. a stone; wheat straw, 10d.; oat straw, 10d.; and barley, 5d. a thrave [24 sheaves, or two shocks or stooks]: and a slow sale of cattle, except for slaughter; and many killed for fear of winterage,—so that beef was 1½d. and 2d. a pound. Also cheese advanced to 30s. a cwt. or more, and butter to 6d. a lb., and fuel scarce and dear, which grew hard upon the poor, and caused the poor-tax to be doubled to at least £200. a year in Lancaster, and in many places in the country more; which, with the land-tax being now advanced to 4s. in the pound, occasioned by the war with Spain, very much affects tradesmen, and husbandmen, and farmers, in the country. In this year died my niece Elizabeth Hall, at her father's house at Boulton Holmes, about 40 years of age, after many years being sore afflicted with an asthma. She left two children, a son with Gualter Burnskill, and a daughter with me, both of whom I am to provide for.

1741.—I continued to keep house this year with a servant and my niece Mary Hall, with much more satisfaction than with my nephew, who continued to dwell in the Moor Lane; this being the third year, and I continued to pay them £40. a year duly; but am afraid they run into debt where they can get credit, and he does not seek nor solicit for

any employ, nor does his behaviour recommend him to any person's encouragement to solicit for him in any public employment. My nephew, Thomas Cort, intending to build a new house in the Pudding Lane, for his encouragement I gave him £50. in money, and also gave him stones, which we got in the Moor Lane,—cost me £4. ; and we got stones there to build the wall from the Moor Gate to the bottom of the field, which employed me all this year, and cost me, the getting stones and walling, at least £10., and by which I got the running brook into the field, which before wanted water.

The king, upon the 24th of the second month this year, dissolved the parliament, after they had granted him five millions of money this session, to maintain the government and carry on the war against Spain, and assist the Queen of Hungary, according to the pragmatic sanction, in the enjoyment of the late emperor's hereditary dominions, and to her husband being elected Emperor of Germany and King of Bohemia. The next day, writs were made out for electing a new parliament; and, in the third month the elections were most over. That for Lancaster was upon the 11th day, when Sir Thomas Lowther and Robert Fenwick, Esq., were elected without opposition or much expense, only treating the freemen to the expense of about £100. And upon the 26th day, the knights of the county were elected; the present Earl of Derby's eldest son, Lord Strange (new), and Richard Shuttleworth (the old) [knights], were unanimously elected without much expense or appearance of freeholders. But at Preston they had a great contest, to the expense of at least £4,000. ; and also for the knights for the county of Westmorland, where £3,000. was spent. But the greatest contest was for knights of the county of York, where at least fifteen thousand polled, betwixt Chumley [Cholmondeley] Turner, Esq., on the court party, and George Fox on that called the country party, or disaffected to the government. Turner polled eight thousand, and Fox seven thousand and fifty, and lost the election. It was computed that it cost them each £15,000., and half of it in York city, and for such freeholders who lived at distant parts of the county, or out of the county and hundred, 20s. or 30s. for riding charges. Each party had gentlemen and noblemen that did contribute largely to support each other's party interest and pay the charges.

The spring this year was backward, and cold and drougthy, which advanced the markets for corn and other provisions. Wheat was 24s. a windle [220 lb. ?]; barley, 12s. ; oats, 8s. ; oatmeal, 16s. ; beans, 18s. a windle ; and potatoes, 10s. a load or windle ; also cheeses from 30s. to 35s. a cwt. ; butter, 7d., and candles 7d. a pound. The cold has set

the grass so that the milk does not yield half the butter and cheese as usual, nor near the usual quantity of hay or straw, especially hy grounds, some not above a cartload on an acre. In the 11th and 12th month, hay was sold for 7d. a stone and 5s. a yard; oat straw at 18s. a thrave, and barley straw at 9d., and scarce to be got. Many horses die for want of food, and cattle so weak, that the seeding was got in with much difficulty; but the harvest proved good and early, and upon that corn came down in price one-third, but cheese and butter kept [up]. At Michaelmas fair, not half the usual quantity of cheese, and sold from 35s. to 30s. a cwt. This dearth of all provisions for men and horses was a great loss to innkeepers in the north, where a regiment of dragoons was quartered; one troop at this town, about 60 horses, which in hay was nigh £20. a week lost to the innkeepers, and near as much lost weekly for the men's meat and drink. There are also great complaints of the sale of our woollen, linen, and iron manufactories; and spinning [has] fallen from 7d. to 5d.. Cotton wool will not sell, and linen yarn very slowly, so that poor labouring people are much straitened to live; also the wages of servants at Whitsuntide came down, many endeavouring to live without servants who used to have [them]. But the harvest coming early, and the crop good, corn came down,—wheat to 20s. a load; barley, 6s. 6d.; oats, 4s.; oatmeal, 8s.; and others in proportion; but hay and straw, butter and cheese, continued dear all the year. This town has felt the effect of the war with Spain this year, having ships lost; three taken and lost by avoiding being taken, all to the value of £10,000. sterling; but much of it insured.

I have had my health very well hitherto, and continue to rise at the sun-rising in spring and summer, and walk a mile out of the town, and in the evening an hour or more in my garden; and in the winter evenings, if fair and clear, I choose to walk an hour or two in the garden in the night, if it be frost and light moon, rather than sit by the fire, or to walk an hour, and sit another; and in the late great frost, I kept walking much night and day, which got me a good appetite to my victuals, and to rest in the night, and to go thin of clothes. It was the middle of the tenth month this year, before I added anything to my summer habit of clothes. My eye-sight [has] increased yearly for seven years last past. Betwixt my age of fifty and seventy years, I could not see to read or write without spectacles, but now I can write tolerably well without them; but yet when I read or write much I use them, but do not carry them about with me.

1742.—In the beginning of the year 1742, I inspected the house-keeping of my nephew, William Stout, to whom I allowed £40. a year

for the three years last past, and paid them by £5. at a time, but found he had expended at least £10. a year more, and had contracted several debts, all which I refused to pay, and expected they would have been broke up ; but she got some money of her brother to pay part. I thought then to have wholly forsaken them, finding [them] not sensible of any gratitude or conformity to their circumstances, or looking out for any business to get anything for their maintenance. They grudgingly parted with their son William to his uncle Leonard, who voluntarily offered to maintain him with victuals, clothes, and school-learning freely at his own cost, and accordingly sent him to the free school at Boulton, and apparelled him well, to the great satisfaction of his grandfather, at whose earnest request I condescended to allow them £40. for another year, but not in money, but 5s. weekly for market money, and a certain sum a year for turf and coal, and for malt, meal, and wheat, and for house rent, and £10. a year for apparel, &c., so that with great care they have subsisted with £40. this year, and I do not hear that they have got into debt this year ; being most people knew their allowance, and that more will not be allowed. Their daughter they send to the school, but are too indulgent to her, and would have her clothed above their ability.

For the three years last past, I have kept house with my servant Mary Bayley with good content ; and Mary Hall, my brother Leonard's granddaughter, has been with us much of this time. I now perceived that my servant was much inclined to marry, and that I must look out for another servant, or give up housekeeping, which I was not willing to do, and Mary Hall being now nigh twenty years of age, and having knowledge of my way of living, and having no parents living, I resolved to be served by her, and to get a woman each week or two to wash, brew, and clean the house, as there was occasion ; on which my niece aforesaid undertook the housekeeping upon trial, and which she performed more to my satisfaction than I could have expected.

This year came in with storms, frost, and snow for two months, in so much that it was feared the seeding could not be made, fodder being scarce and dear, and cattle weak ; but in the first month it was a fine dry season, with some frost, and the seeding [was] performed much better than could have been expected. The markets for corn were moderate, and although a back spring for grass, yet [there was] an advance of cattle in the markets. It is supposed that the hardness of the two last winters had destroyed at least half of the sheep ; yet they and wool continued very low, the season being fair. There was a great deal of turf dug up and coals got at 9s.

In the winter past I had my health very well, and exercised myself in walking in the garden in clear and moonshine nights, and walking on the house floor according to what I had been accustomed, and also in reading, having given over building, and all business of buying and selling. And about the middle of the first month I began to take my morning walks as I had done for forty years past, at the sun rising, a mile or more out of the town every day in the week, several days; and the summer was so fair and dry that I was not hindered one morning in several weeks, nor in my garden in the evening; and in the daytime I employed myself in reading over the whole Bible and Echard's History of England, and Fox's Acts and Monuments.

In the fourth month this year, Mary Baylif, aged thirty-one years, and not very healthy, had lived with me three years, was married at our meeting-house in Lancaster, to John Marsden, a nailor, aged twenty-three years. He had been a journeyman three years, but had not made any improvement, but she had above £5. which he wanted, as her friends cautioned [her], with which he begun the trade in Lancaster. My brother Leonard Stout and his wife, and Mary their daughter, now dwell upon the estate at Boulton [Bolton] Holmes, where we were born, which is above £30. a year, the whole profits whereof I give them for their maintenance, which they have enjoyed ever since our brother Josiah's death, which he charged with legacies near the whole value it is worth; which I paid to my brother Leonard's children in [the] first year.

The spring being very backward, cold, and droughty, there was little grass in June, and little hay expected till the 20th day, when there was plenty of rain, which brought plenty of grass and forwarded corn, so that cattle sold at great prices, and wool advanced, and gave great encouragement to trade and husbandry.

There has been great contest in the parliament, to appease which the king has discharged Robert Walpole, and most of the principal ministers of state, and has promoted most of their principal opposers into their places; which somewhat silences the disaffected, who seemed confident that if they were displaced there would be plenty of persons to accuse and detect them; and in order to it, voted for a secret committee to make search; and a committee of twenty-one of the members most opposite was appointed, who sat upon it above a month, but did not discover any frauds, which vexed them, and they said such as could discover would not, fearing they might be also prosecuted as parties; so moved for an act to indemnify any who would inform from any prosecution; and a bill was passed in the house of commons to that purpose.

But when it came before the lords, they rejected it, which highly vexed the dissatisfied party, but greatly to the satisfaction of the king, his court, and all his sober and loyal subjects; and silencing the factious; and upon this the parliament proceeded in their business very quietly, in granting the king all necessary supplies to the sum of £5,000,000, of money sterling, and it is a great mercy to this nation that this vexatious party are overcome; otherwise it is as much feared there would have been some insurrection, and calling in some foreign enemies upon us.

All the rest of this summer proved fair, and much more hay than expected was got, and a good and plentiful harvest, and corn cheap, as also butter and cheese, and other provisions. My health continued good, and I exercised myself much in walking;—ten miles one day round Cloughey, another day over Halton Moor to Sidgarth, and from thence to Overkellat, to view an estate I had in trust, and from thence home through Boulton.

There is imported here this year nigh 800 tons of flax and 1,000 bags of cotton. Wool sold at 8½d. a pound, flax at 40s. a cwt. and under; and some thousand loads of bracken [fern] ashes went through this town this year. South Sea Stock, 110; Bank, 144; East India, 170. Wheat in the south, 8s. our windle [? 220 lb.], and great plenty in all Europe, so that there [was] no exportation, which is a great discouragement to the farmers; but cattle of all sorts, and wool at great prices.

In the eighth month, this year, we had a great sea flood in the night [which] did great damage;—great numbers of cattle and sheep [were] drowned, fences beaten down, and land flooded, and wheat, rape, &c., drowned; and in the same month a great land flood ran over the banks of the river, and beat down the fences; but corn was happily got in, or the damage would have been much greater. This sea flood was the greatest we had had in twenty years, and the land flood in twelve years, yet in the main the latter part of the year was moderate. I had my health, and did not add to my summer habit till the eighth day of the tenth month, when the frost became so sharp that the river below the bridge was frozen so hard as to bear the people for many days.

The parliament, this month, and the leading men in London, Bristol, York, Edinburgh, and most of the great cities and towns, had advised their representatives not to vote for any supply till the late ministers were convicted and punished for their frauds and mal-administration; but when it came to a vote in the house, there was for them 250 votes, against, 150; to the great confusion of the disaffected, who say that their advocates have cheated them; and now when they are in power act worse than them who are now out of power.

Upon the nineteenth day of the seventh month, this year, James Dixon, the son of Bryan Dixon, of Whittington, aged about twenty-four years, was married to Mary Stout, the youngest daughter of my brother, Leonard Stout, aged about twenty-six years, by O'Neale, the priest at Boulton, with both their parents' consent. He served an apprenticeship to Thomas Butterfield, of Lancaster, to the employ of an apothecary; and when loose he went to London, and there remained one or two years in some hospitals, to improve himself in his trade and in surgery, and begun his employ in Lancaster about a year ago, and was diligent in the same, and not to frequent unnecessary company or diversion, and had gained reputation in his occupation, which encouraged me to respect, and to contribute to their [maintenance] equally to what I have done, or intend to do, to all the other daughters of my said brother Leonard, who were before married.

1743.—In the winter this year we had much rain and high winds, and some snow. Many ships [were] lost; several of this town. The ground very wet, and scarcely fit to plough or to travel, but I had my health, and diverted myself with walking when fair. I had some intention of doing some building to the house at Boulton Holmes, where I was born, the next summer, and had got some stone, timber, and slate to the place, and thought to remove to dwell there; my niece, Mary Hall, being very tender, and not in health to provide in the house, especially in the morning, I rising usually at sun-rising, and she not to eight o'clock in summer.

In the first month, 1742-3, I began to rise as soon as light, and walk an hour or two in the fields before breakfast; and the fifteenth day of that month I went out at five and came in at seven, and after breakfast resolved to go to my brother Leonard's, who was out of health at Boulton Holmes, the place where we were born. I left my house at eight o'clock and walked over Lancaster Bridge, at the end of which some carpenters of my acquaintance were fitting out a ship intended for Jamaica, with whom I talked about two minutes upon the shore, out of the highway, and then turned to the way to go forward, and seeing a boy on horseback coming towards me at full speed, I stepped to a side, out of his way, as I thought, but the horse came right upon me on his blind side full speed. He did drive me down with great violence, and fell upon me and struck the breath out of my body, and crushed my right leg and thigh, so that the people who stood by thought I was slain, and laid me by as such, and gave notice to my neighbours and friends of the same, who came down and found me supposed dead, [but] got me into a chair and carried me all the way, spectators thinking I was dead. The horse and boy were Dr. Brackin's, who often run away with the

rider, and both were much hurt with the fall. I happened to be on the blind side of the horse, [which] occasioned the misfortune. As soon as I was got home I was got to bed, and James Dixon, the surgeon, who had lately married my brother Leonard's youngest daughter, searched my person, and found that all my right side was sore crushed, and my right leg broken a little below the knee; and Dr. Brackin, hearing of my misfortune, came soon down, and James Dickson and he examined and set and wrapped it, and applied what was necessary; and my brother Leonard sent his son Leonard and a servant to take care of my house, and to provide what was necessary; being I laid altogether insensible of my condition for one week or more, and took little food to revive me. During the first week my nephew Leonard Stout was careful about me, took the keys of my desk and drawers, and overlooked my attendants that nothing should be wasted; being at such times too many take opportunities to make waste. After I had continued about a week insensible, I came to some understanding, and when people came to see me and queried how I did, I told them I was confined to bed, but did not understand for what; when some young men of my acquaintance, who were at the place when and where I got this great misfortune, told me the circumstances, and thought that I was quite dead. And then I began to be sensible, to give direction what food I desired to have, which was all the simple product of our own country, as flesh, fish, butter, cheese, milk, &c.; all without sugar or seasoning, except salt. I continued all this month in a very weak condition, not able to get out or into bed, or to take any nourishment without help, or put off or on any clothes; got little rest, one or more to sit by me all night this and next month, and endured much pain with patience, which was a cold season, with some frost and snow, and hindered the feeding. In the third month I found myself more easy in my leg, but my knee much bruised and swelled, as also my thigh; but the other leg was easy, so that I could hop from the bed to the fire with the assistance of a chair back, or a stool, which much revived me, more than any of my relations or neighbours expected who first saw my distressed condition.

My brother Leonard and his wife [were] much out of health, and could not give me any assistance. I continued them upon my estate at Boulton, worth £35. a year, freely, without paying me any rent for it. Also my nephew, William Stout, has the last year subsisted himself and wife and daughter with the £40. I allow them, but with the limitations I confined them to, clothes, fuel, malt, and meal, and other things; and I continued the same for the year now commencing, but he does not behave himself in any respect to recommend himself in any employ.

At the time of my getting this misfortune, I was just entering into the 79th year of my age, and in the fourth month, this year, I found I got some strength in my broken leg so as to point the ground, and I got two crutches, and got into the garden, which was grown over with weeds. I got a stool and sat upon it, and removed it from one place to another, where I could pluck up the weeds, and continued there some hours in fair weather, which was great refreshment, but I never attempted to go out into the street upon crutches, nor did I use them above two weeks, and then I got a staff, upon which I could walk into the street and market. And about the end of this month I got to our meeting-house, to the surprise of many, and began to rest well in the nights, and had a good appetite to my victuals, and never took any physic since I got this misfortune, but found disorders in my body. In the fifth month, this year, my body much in the order as last month; I can walk in the house, garden, and streets, where the way is plain or level, but down hill is most uneasy—much more than up the hill; but I cannot walk with ease in the fields or upon the moor as I used to do. I have not much pain in my leg, but am very weak in all parts of that side of my body, and particularly in my head, which hinders me in getting sleep, and many nights [I] get very little. I go to bed at nine in the evening, and get up at four in the morning. I have a good appetite for my victuals, but drink very little. I dare not yet get on horseback, for fear of disordering my body, although my occasions want my presence in sundry distant places, upon trusts reposed in me. In the seventh month [September] this [year] I find myself well restored in my limbs, but my inward bruises affect me much in my head and entrails, which has much weakened my constitution, and brings old age upon [me] very much, with dizziness in my head, frequent violent purgings, indigestion of meat, and [loss of] rest in the night. In the eighth month the days short, and wet, and cold. I feared a relapse, but found that my health was rather better and strengthened, so that upon an urgent occasion I got on horseback, and rode about nine miles to and fro, and part in the night, without much pain or disorder, as formerly, and performed the business I went about to the good satisfaction of the persons principally concerned. And as I found so good satisfaction in it, a few days after I adventured to take a foot walk of seven miles to and fro, which I performed with much ease, and more than with riding as aforesaid, which was usual to me in the prime of my age and health.

My brother Leonard now being much out of health, and incapable to manage husbandry, was disposed to quit the estate where we were born, upon which I permitted him to let it to farm to whom he pleased, for a

good tenant, and he and his wife to have the rent of it during their joint lives. The ancient estate, worth about £20. a year, descended to me as heir to my brother Josias, charged by his will with £372., payable to his nephews and nieces, which was paid in the year that he died, except £80. to be paid to William and Mary Hall, when they should attain to the age of twenty-one years, which now happening, they being twins, I paid to them; which estate, with other lands, I bought. My brother now let to sundry persons for a yearly rent of about £33., and reserved the house, garden, orchard, stable, and turf, for their own habitation, and the rent of the whole for their maintenance. At the same time he made a public sale of all his quick goods [i.e. live stock] and cattle, about £50. worth.

CONCLUDING NOTE BY THE EDITOR.

Here ceases the MS. of the worthy and aged Quaker. Born in March, 1665, his last entries in this autobiographical MS. must have been written when he was in his 79th year. We are indebted to the courtesy of a resident of Lancaster for the following particulars, which form a sort of pendant to the autobiography. Our correspondent states that, on examining the registers of deaths belonging to the Society of Friends, and the monthly minutes of Lancaster, he finds that William Stout, senior, died 15th of 1st month [January], 1752, and was interred in the Friends' Burial Ground, at Lancaster, the 19th of 1st month, 1752. This was the first month in which the Friends changed their style of counting the months. In October, 1751, a committee was appointed at their yearly meeting, to consider the subject, which recommended that "the 1st day of the 11th month (commonly called January) next, should be reckoned and deemed by Friends the 1st day of the 1st month of the year 1752." His age is not mentioned in this obituary record, but from his autobiography we learn that he was born "in the 1st month [March] between the years 1664 and 1665," and therefore he must have been 87 years of age at the time of his decease. He would seem to have recovered from his injuries, for he lived nine years after the accident recorded in his last year's autobiographical entries. We presume that growing age led him to discontinue these entries; and we find that at some period after 1743 he left Lancaster, and went to reside at Hatlex, where he died.

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- Hodgson John, merchant, Lancaster, 67, 68.
- Hall Thomas, dies, 121; his family and affairs, 121; his widow dies, 136.
- Harris Christopher, of Cartmel, drowned in crossing the Sands, 20.
- Horsfall Henry, detected counterfeiting stamped paper, 53; wrongly accuses his cousin John of participation, 53.
- Iron got from the bloomeries in Cartmel and Furness, 26; Swedish, from York or Leeds, by land, 26; generally bought at Leeds or Settle; but a good quantity of Lancashire iron, made at Cartmel and Furness, sold in Lancaster, 80; all made in the bloomery way, the furnace for bar iron not being then erected, 80; much pig-iron sent from Lancashire to Bristol and Wales, to be made into bars and rods, 81; in 1717, war with Sweden, causes Swedish iron to rise in England, from £16. to £24. a ton, and leads to the erection of furnaces and the making of rod and bar iron, 94; in 1725, iron £20. a ton and upwards, and the trade flourishes, 107; iron manufacture good in 1733, 123.
- Imports into Lancaster in 1742, 800 tons of flax, and 1,000 bags of cotton.
- James II. succeeds Charles II. in 1684, 14; Parliament grant him revenues in excise and customs, 15; enabled him to raise a standing army, and defeat the Duke of Monmouth, 15; but the army proved his own overthrow, 15; dies in France, in 1701, 60.
- Johnson John and his family, notice of, 38; John Johnson, his son, a Presbyterian minister in Lincolnshire, then tutor or chaplain to the Lord St. John's family, becomes an episcopal clergyman, chaplain to a regiment, and library-keeper to the Archbishop of Canterbury, 40.
- Jeffreys Judge, his cruelties, 15.
- Jepson Robert, of Skerton, and Jane his wife, 123.
- Lawton Andrew, smith, of Skerton, 85.
- Lawson John, at Cockerham, 12.
- Land carriage resorted to in 1689, as the sea was perilous from French privateers, 25.
- Lancaster Corporation have a contest with Liverpool about passage-toll, 27.
- Lancaster, curious election contests in 1690-91, 30; "twopenny freemen," 30; free guilds or companies, 31; great fire in 1698, 47; Parliamentary election for 1722, 100; election in 1727, 111; election in 1734, 125; election in 1741, 137.
- Liverpool increases in shipping, buildings, and merchants, during all the wars of William III., 35.
- Land and rents rise in value, 1723, 102; ditto, in 1727, 110.
- Land tax at Lancaster in 1695, 4s. in the pound, exceeding £120., 43; paid mostly in debased coin, loss on which made up by imposing, for many years, a window tax, 43; land tax in 1740, 4s. in the pound, 136.
- Land carriage in 1702, from London to Lancaster, 5s 6d. per cwt., 61.
- Louis XIV., death of, 90.
- Lawson Robert, of Sunderland, fails, 114; Lune so low, that persons walked round the bridge piers dryshod, 120.
- London Charitable Corporation, for lending money on pledges, 121; a Parliamentary Committee of Inquiry found four members of Parliament guilty of fraud, and they were expelled the House; others prosecuted; but the money had gone to the Pretender at Rome, 123.
- Manufactures, of silk, linen, paper, canvas, &c. in England, arose from the war with France, in 1689, 25; copperas works erected at Liverpool, and alum works in Yorkshire, in place of importing, 26; manufactures of linen and spinning at good prices in 1723, 104; in 1725, linen and cotton goods in good demand, and good wages for spinning, 107; in beginning of 1725, cotton advanced from 10d. to nearly 2s. 1d. per lb., 107; in 1728, linen manufacturing low, and spinning one-third less than 1727, 113; in 1730, linen, woollen, and iron goods sell well, but flax, wool, and iron, cheap, 117; spinning (wages) advanced one-fourth, 117; in 1733, woollen, linen, and iron manufactures good, and great wages for spinning and other labouring people, 123; bad sale in 1741 for woollen and linen goods, and wages of spinning fell from 7d. to 5d., 138.
- Marsh, the great; its boundaries, &c., 2;

- washed away by the sea in 1677, 5; still further destroyed by river Kead, 6; and rose on the opposite side of Morecambe Bay, 6; all to the west and north washed away, 19; the river Kent drawn in, and many cattle drowned, 19.
- Merrick Abraham, 12.
- Militia, out a week or ten days every summer, 13.
- Middleton Christopher and his family, 50;
- Mayor Robert, joiner and cooper, &c., 74.
- Marshall John, rolls and cuts tobacco for William Stout, and assists in the shop, for 6d. a day, 81.
- Meadcalf Alderman Thomas, 85; his affairs, 103, 108.
- Mortality, particularly from small pox, in 1721, 98.
- Mattison, of Dent, pretends to be robbed, 106.
- Macclesfield, Earl of, promotes a new charter for Lancaster, 31.
- Money, silver, clipped and counterfeit, especially that coined before the Restoration, 28; debased, "ring money," "milled" and "hammered" money, in 1693, 36; most payments made in guineas, 37; the old silver money much diminished by clipping, &c., 38; guineas advance in value in Lancaster to 22s. or 23s. in 1695, 41; in London to 28s. or 30s., 41; in 1695, "short money" in circulation, 42; all the old money called in at full value, and re-coined at mints erected at York, Norwich, Exeter, Bristol, and Chester, 42; afterwards old money or plate taken at 5s. 8d. per ounce, to be coined, and paid for in new money, up to 4th May, 1697, 43; loss to revenue by debased money, made up by a window tax, lasting many years, 43; in 1696, as the new money appeared, the old milled money of Charles II. and James II. re-appeared in great abundance, showing extensive hoarding, 43, 44; as the new money increased, guineas declined in value, 44; the King of France thinks it vain to contend with a nation, which in war time can restore the value of their coinage, and so makes peace, 44; guineas fall to 22s., 44; in 1717, pass for 21s. 6d., but are required to be taken for 21s., so as to make silver more plentiful, 94.
- Persecution of Dissenters in 1684, 14.
- Powell John, hatter, a litigious man, 30.
- Prices, of groceries, &c., 13; of produce at Barbadoes, 62; of grain, &c., in 1728, 113; in 1729, 115; ditto, 116; of beef, in 1732, 121; of provisions in 1733, 123; of provisions in 1734, 126; of beef and pork in 1735, 127; in 1740, of corn, hay, straw, cheese, and butter, 136; in spring of 1741, of corn, potatoes, cheese, butter, and candles, 137; of hay and straw, 138; of cheese, 138; of spinning, 138; of corn, &c., after harvest, 138; of wool and flax, and wheat, in 1742, 141; of stocks in 1742, 141.
- Penny Alderman William, dies, 92; his benefactions to the poor, and hospital in Back lane, 92.
- Plague or Pestilence in France in 1721, 99; consequent quarantine in England, 99.
- Peter the Great, Czar of Muscovy, 101; dies, 106; his Empress dies, 110.
- Piracy, 102.
- Papists' Estates, tax on, 103.
- Protestants in Germany, 104, 107.
- Parliament dissolved on accession of George II., 111.
- Penn William, his grant of land (Pennsylvania) from Charles II., 10; his proposals for planting and peopling it, 10; goes thither with many Friends, in 1681, 10; plans and begins to build Philadelphia, 11; its rapid increase, 11; in 1699, two miles square, and 1,000 houses, and Pennsylvania well inhabited, 55.
- Poor in Lancaster increased so much in 1729, that a house first hired for their reception, 118; poor-tax doubled in Lancaster, in 1740, amounting to £200., 136.
- Revolution of 1688, 22-24.
- Resin, on the war with France, brought from New England, 25.
- Rigby Charles, a celebrated Lancaster lawyer, 31; his death in 1721, 98.
- Robinson John, parish apprentice to William Stout, 75.
- Rebellion of 1715, 90; 400 prisoners brought to Lancaster Castle, 93; a regiment of dragoons quartered in Lancaster to guard them, 93; sale of estates, forfeited by rebellion, in 1723, 102.
- Salt, first got in Cheshire during the war with France, in 1689, 25; in 1730, duty repealed, 118.
- Spirits of various kinds distilled, in lieu of French brandy, 25.
- Sugar, little used in 1708-10, 81; half

the import re-exported to the Continent, 81.

South Sea Scheme, 1720, 95; Lord Lonsdale lost most of his estate, 96; Geo. I. came over express from Hanover, a Parliamentary inquiry was instituted, and some fined, 96; Parliamentary Secret Committee in 1721, 98.

St. Petersburg built, 100.

Satterthwait Samuel, dies, 101.

Small pox and measles prevalent in 1725, in Lancashire, 107.

Southwark Thomas, of High Field, Lancaster, dies, 114.

Seasons and Crops.—Winter of 1682, 12; long and sharp frost of 1683, 13. Beginning of 1719, foggy and wet, and high mortality, 95; the summer droughty, in the south oats as dear as wheat, 4s. 6d. a bushel, 95. After open and warm weather in 1720, followed much snow and frost, the ground covered a month, causing great mortality and sickness, 98. Summer of 1723 droughty, and fodder scarce; corn good, and low, 104. Summer of 1725 wet and cold, little turf, and coals 14s. a ton; late but fair harvest, and potatoes plenty and cheap, 107. In 1727, a good corn harvest in Lancashire, but in the south and east, scarce and dear, 113; potatoes cheap, from 2s. 6d. to 3s. a load, 113. In 1728, wet spring, late seeding, cold summer, 113; a great blast in summer, which scorched the corn, 113; a sickly summer, and great mortality in rural districts, 113; all grain dear, and potatoes double price of last year, 113; oatmeal so bad, that wheat bread is most used, 113; in 1729, harvest early and good, 116; latter part of the year excessively wet, 116; in 1730, great crop of corn, and prices reduced, and all provisions plenty and cheap, 117; 1731, extremely droughty, stopping sale for cattle, 120; corn good and cheap, as are all provisions, 120; in 1732, corn cheap, all provisions plentiful, and trade good, 121; droughty, so that many cattle were killed, and beef 1½d. to 2d. a lb., 121; in 1733, all provisions plenty and cheap, but low prices for cattle ruin the farmers, 123; large exports of corn, trade good, and manufacturing and iron trade flourishing, 123; in 1734, peace and plenty, corn very low, cattle cheap, and large exports of corn, 126; in 1735, peace, and plenty of corn and all provisions,

127; in 1739-40, the long frost, which was general over Europe, 134; its effects felt in 1740, much of the wheat killed in the ground, and a failure in oats and barley, 136; provisions scarce, and corn riots, 136; spring of 1741 backward, cold, and droughty, and provisions and fodder dear, 137; early harvest and good crop, reduce prices, 138; 1742 came in with storms, frost, and snow, followed by a dry season, 139; markets for corn moderate, sheep and wool low, 139; in the winter of 1742-3, much rain, high wind, and snow; the ground wet, and scarcely fit to plough, 142.

Stout William's Father, his first wife, 1; rebuilds the old house at Boulton Holmes, 1; marries his second wife, 1; his estate, 1; his children, 1, 2; buys and resells land in Slyne, 5; buys land and houses in Hatlex, 5; makes his will, 7; treats with William Coward, of Lancaster, to take William apprentice, 7; his dying exhortations, 7; death, 8; character, 8.

Stout William's Mother, her marriage, 1; in widowhood continues farming, 9; grief at deaths of her two youngest children, 10; able management and industry at Hatlex, 19; buys land there, and apportions amongst her children, 32; keeps Josias's house, 32; and becomes incapable of managing a house, in 1700, lives alternately with Josias at Leonard's, and her son William at Lancaster, 56; returns to keep house for Josias, 56; a year after his marriage, and when she is 77 (about 1709), she leaves Josias, and lives with William till her death, 79; dies in 1716, 91; her character, 92.

Stout William, born 1665, 1; his parentage, brothers, and sisters, 1; sent to school at Hartsoop (?), 6; has tertian ague, 6; his progress in schooling, 6; left-handed, 6; goes to Lancaster school, 8; apprenticed to William Coward, grocer and ironmonger, Lancaster, 8; attends a shop in Boulton two days weekly, 12; avoids the fire, and inures himself to cold, 13; in 1685, is converted to the belief of the Society of Friends, by the preaching of William King, a Craven farmer, 16; his reflections and resolutions thereon, 16; is sent by his master to the Isle of Man, in 1687, 18; his trip thither, 18; his observations on the island, 18; his exposure on the return voyage, 18;

his trade adventure there, 19. His apprenticeship expires, and he takes a shop, 20; sells land and borrows money to stock it, 20; goes to London in 1688, with £120. to buy stock, 21; buys groceries in London, and hardware at Sheffield, 21; partitions a sleeping room off the shop, and boards with Alderman Barnes at £5. yearly; victuals and washing, 21; refuses to abate in price, 22; is attacked with rheumatism, 22; borrows £40., and goes to Sheffield to buy ironmongery, 26; on his beginning, he was the fifth ironmonger in Lancashire, 26; cleared during his first year's shopkeeping, about £50., beside rent and board, 26; walks early in morning, and after shop-closing in evening, 27; boards with Richard Sterzaker, a butcher, at £5. yearly, 27; goes to London in 1690, 27; has a narrow escape of highwaymen, 28; his week's journey to London and back costs him £3., riding his own horse, 29; takes as apprentice John Troughton, 29; buys the stock of John Marshall, ironmonger, 29; also great part of that of John Lawson, at Cockerham, 29; also that of Benjamin Borrow, who broke, 30; in 1690, only Coward and himself left ironmongers in Lancaster, 30; in 1691, takes a parlour, cellar, and three bed-rooms, a part of John Hodgson's great house, opposite the shop, at 50s. a year, and his sister Ellen keeps house for him, 31, 32; his temptation, 32, 33; his prayers and preservation, 33; the person dies, 33; his dealings with Augustin Greenwood and the sailors for tobacco, 34, 35; goes to Sheffield in 1692 to buy hardware, and to Preston fair to buy cheese, 35; in 1693, goes to London, and is ill on the road, 36; returns from London, via Sheffield and Manchester, 37; goes to London in 1695, by Manchester and Sheffield, 41; clears about £14. by the guineas he takes with him from Lancaster, 41; attends the Friends' Yearly Meeting, 1695, 41; returns via Bristol, 42; goes to Liverpool to buy tobacco, the last imported loose, and pays for it in "short money," 42; in 1695, is appointed Collector of the Land Tax for Lancaster (4s. in the pound, and exceeded £120.), 43; paid mostly in debased coin, and to make up this loss, the duty on windows was imposed for many years, 43; buys thifty hogsheads

of tobacco, at 9d. per lb., and the payment clears him of his old silver money, 44; gives up his shop trade in 1697 to his apprentice, John Troughton, selling him goods and fixtures at cost price, but Troughton neglects the business, and is ruined, 45; in 1697, Stout finds he has lost, in nine years, by 248 insolvent debtors, £220, 46; finds his clear estate £1,100. 46; he never sued any to execution for debt, or spent 20s. in prosecuting any debtor, 46; in 1698, gives up shopkeeping, and his sister Ellen returns to her brothers, Josias and Leonard, 48; takes one-sixth of a new vessel, of 80 tons, then building, 48; goes to London, 1698, and attends the Yearly Meeting of Friends, 49; buys spars, sails, &c., for the vessel, in London, 49; returns by sea to Liverpool, and home on horseback, 49; boards and lodges with Joshua Lawson, and superintends the fitting-out the vessel "Employment," for a Virginia voyage, 49; takes a cargo of goods out, costing £360.; buys a house of Widow Coward for £90., 50; buys a house in Lancaster of her for £180., 52; keeps house again in part of it, with his sister Ellen as housekeeper, 52; losses by various mercantile adventures, 54; walks morning and evening, 55; pulls down and rebuilds the back of his house, 55; in 1700, is worth £1,185., 56; in 1701, £1,180., 60; in 1702, £1,256., 62; is inclined towards Bethia Greene, but ultimately withdraws his affections, 65; in 1703, he is worth £1,142.; goes to London in 1704, and attends the yearly meeting, 69; in 1704, is worth £1,181.; employs himself as a wholesale grocer, 70; begins retail trade again in Thomas Greene's shop, 71; in 1705, is worth £1,274., in 1706, removes to his old shop, 74; in 1707, is worth £1,371.; in 1708, superintends rebuilding of Friends' Meeting House, Lancaster, 75; in 1709, is worth £1,442.; makes his last journey to Sheffield, buying iron at Leeds, 79; in 1710, is worth £1,574.; in 1711, £1,704.; in 1712, £1,804.; in 1713, £1,932.; goes to London in 1713, and attends the yearly meeting there, 86; stays fifteen days in London, leaves it for the last time, 87; in 1714, is worth £2,425.; in 1716, £2,794.; has a severe illness in 1719, but recovers without physic, 95; 1718, £3,230., 97; 1720,

£3,650, 97; takes his brother Leonard's son William apprentice, in 1721, 99; his shop is robbed in the night, in 1722, 100; in 1722, is worth £4,136.; in 1723, £4,348.; gunpowder explosion in his shop, 1724, 104; on death of his sister, his brother Leonard's second daughter, Janet, keeps his house, 106; in 1724, is worth £4,560.; buys the Greens Field, 107; in 1726, is worth £4,950.; his niece Janet marries, 111; gives up the shop to his nephew William, 112; keeps house with his brother Leonard's third daughter, Ellen, 113; buys a house in Penny-street, 114; in 1728, is worth nearly £5,000., 114; his niece Ellen marries, 115; Hannah Eglin, from Westmoreland, comes to be his housekeeper, 115; rebuilds his house in Penny-street, 115; takes Leonard's fourth daughter, Margaret, 116; sends her home, 116; gives up housekeeping, and boards and lodges with Mary and Lydia Dilworth, 116; his nephew William marries, 117; makes another unprofitable sea adventure, 117; his nephew John apprenticed to a draper at Kendal, 118; his gifts to Thomas Cort, who married his niece Ellen, 118; his nephew William in difficulties, so our autobiographer takes to the shop again, 119; sets his nephew William up in it once more, 120; had given him more than £800. in four years, 121; rebuilds his house near the Market cross, 122; having finished, he lives in rooms, over the shop, and takes his brother Leonard's two youngest daughters, Margaret and Mary, for housekeepers, 125; Margaret marries, and Mary has ill health, so he gives up housekeeping, and boards with his nephew William, 125; his nephew Leonard marries, 126; passes his time in reading and writing; buys the Hollow Meadow at Bolton, 127; in 1736, goes to the General Meeting of Friends at Whitehaven, 128; in his 72nd year, and had not spent a shilling in physio for thirty years, 128; used spectacles from 50 to 70, and could then see well without, 128; rebuilds Walter Burnskill's premises at his own expense; in 1737, has a severe cold and cough, and afterwards got indisposition to activity, [influenza?] 129; his nephew William again in difficulties, and makes an assignment, 130; pays 15s. in the pound; and his nephew John, from

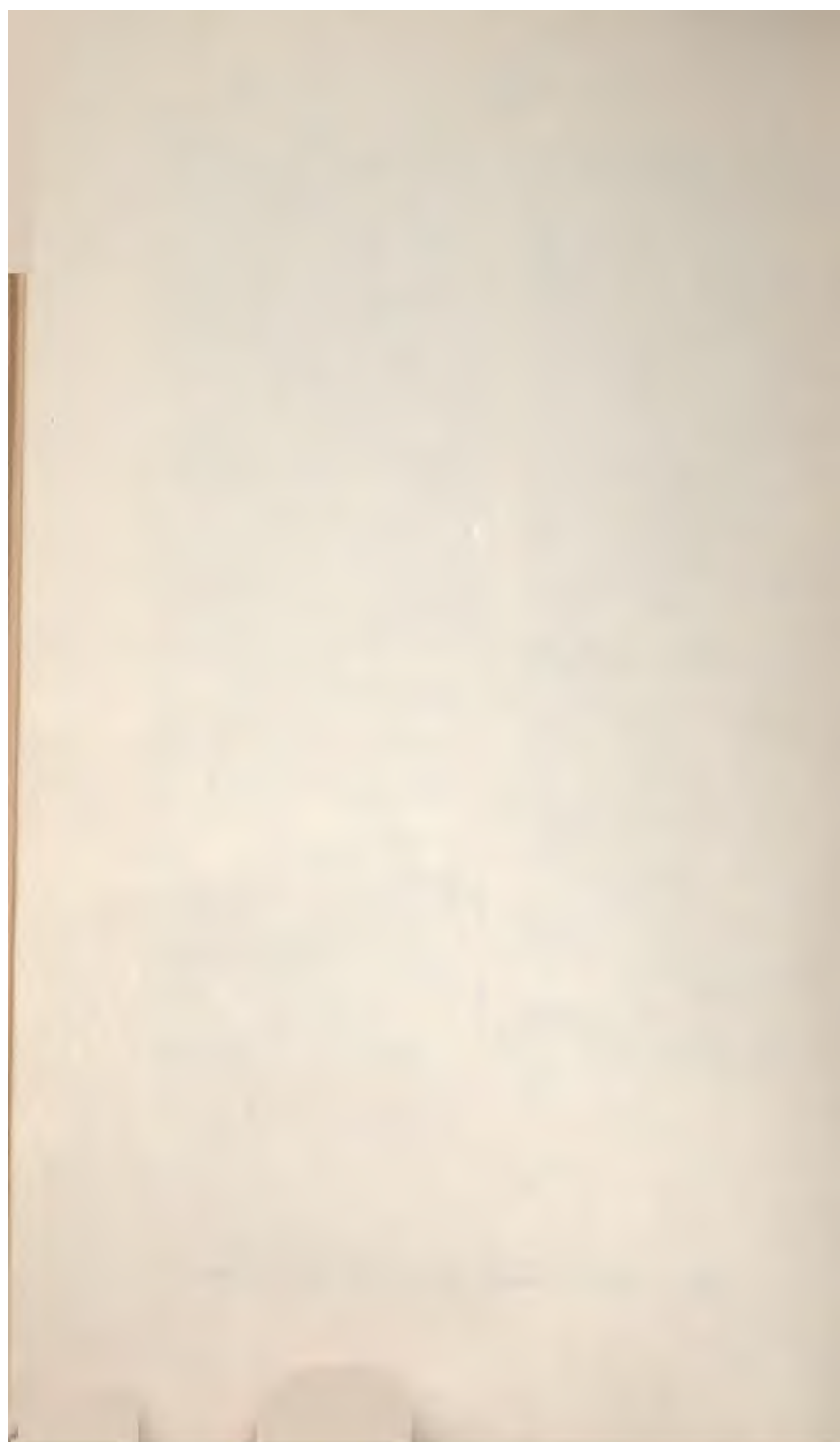
Kendal, succeeds to the shop, 130; gives him £300. to begin with, 131; sends his nephew William to live in a small house, and allows him £40. a year; goes to housekeeping again with Mary, daughter of his niece Elizabeth Hall, 134; attacked by a sort of cholera, 134; his niece Elizabeth Hall dies, and he undertakes to provide for her two children, 136; his health, vigour, and eyesight; reads without glasses, and reads the whole Bible, Echard's History of England, and Fox's Book of Martyrs, 140; in 1743, is ridden over by a horse, and much injured, 142; in three months able to go about on crutches, 144; within seven months he rides nine and walks seven miles, 144; his last MS. entries are in his 79th year, 145; dies in January, 1752, and is interred in Friends' burial ground, Lancaster, aged 87 years, 145. His later years spent at Hatlex, 145.

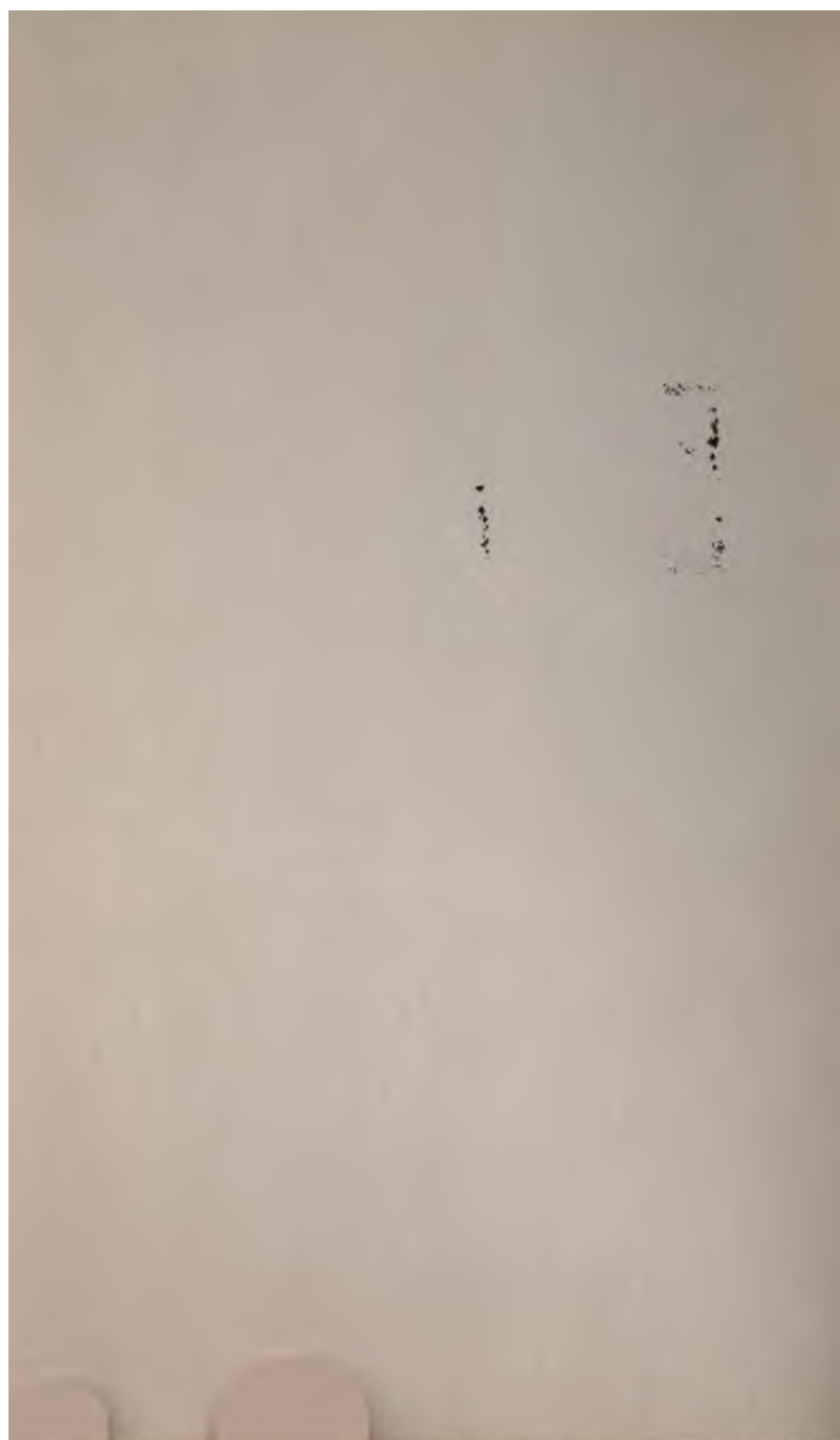
Stout Josias (William's eldest brother), born 1662, 1; at 18, taken from school to farming, 9; in 1687, had much improved Leonard's property at Hatlex, by building, &c., 19; lets his farm, and goes to live with his brother Leonard, 56; having a bad tenant, returns to the farm and housekeeping, with his mother, and servants to help, 56; marries, in 1708, Sibill Green, 79; sketch of his life, 131; his death, 132; his will, 133.

Stout Leonard (William's younger brother), born 1667, 1; at 14, taken from school to carting and plough, 9; sent again to school at Silverdale, in winter, 10; his mother improves an estate at Hatlex for him, 19; about 1691, he builds a good dwelling-house, barn, &c., at Hatlex, 32; marries Ellen Benison, 46; has eight children, five sons and three daughters; Elizabeth, their eldest daughter, marries Thomas Hall; his daughter Margaret marries Walter Burnskill, 125; through his son William, gets the freedom of the borough of Lancaster in 1735, and brings in his son John a freeman, 127; he lives at Slyne till the death of Josias, 127; Elizabeth Hall and her children live with him, 128; Leonard, his wife, and daughter Mary, live on the old estate at Bolton, 140; his youngest daughter Mary marries, 142; failing in health, Leonard leaves the family house, and lets the farm, 144.

Stout Ellen (William's sister), born 1660,

- 1; touched for king's evil by Charles II., 3; at 20 assists in managing her mother's house, 9; sorrow at death of her brothers, and is sent from home, 10; continues infirm, and remains at home with her mother, 19; refuses offers of marriage, 19; has a violent fever, 19; comes to Lancaster at fairs and markets, to serve in her brother's shop, 21; attends him during his illness, and also the shop, 22; becomes his housekeeper in 1691, 32; manages without a servant, only having occasional help to wash, char, and brew, 34; assists in the shop, and overlooks the apprentice, 34; on William's giving up house-keeping in 1698, she returns to Hatlex, 48; again keeps house for William in 1699, 52; taken ill in 1717, vomits nearly two quarts of blood, and recovers, 94; is ill in 1719, but recovers without medicine or advice, 95; taken ill and dies in 1724, 105; buried in yard of meeting-house at Lancaster, 105; a public exhortation suitable to the occasion, 105; her habits, 105; left all she had to her brother Leonard's five daughters, 106.
- Stout Richard** (a brother of William), born 1669, 1; dies of small pox, in his 10th year, 9.
- Stout Mary** (a sister of William), born 1672, 2.
- Stout Thomas** (a brother of William), born 1674, 2; dies of small pox about five years old, 10.
- Stouts the**, their schooling and training, 3, 4; their boyish occupations, 5.
- Troughton John**, is bound apprentice, for seven years, to William Stout, paying £20., in 1690, 29; is loose in 1697, 45; William Stout gives up to him his shop trade, selling him, at cost price, stock and fixtures, 45; his neglect of business, intemperance, and ruin, 45; arrested, 70; his after life, 71.
- Thornton William**, fails, 104.
- Tobacco**, price, &c., 13; 8d. a lb. custom on, fixed by Parliament, 1684, 15; brought from Virginia, and bought of the sailors, 26; profit of a cargo, 26; Stout buys at the market price on board ship, of Augustin Greenwood, 34; duty then (1691) near 1d. per lb., but large Customs' allowances for damage, 34; then imported loose, the hogshead not exceeding 4 cwt. nett, 35; the planters, owing to the war with France, sold tobacco at half price, 35; the last tobacco imported loose in 1695, 42; an Act passed, requiring it to be in 2 cwt. (nett) casks, to prevent its being smuggled in small parcels, 42; in 1706, sold at Lancaster at 2½d. per lb. on board, 74; in 1707, at 2½d. per lb., 75; in 1709, large allowances for damage at Custom-house, 80; increase in weight and profit by wetting, 80; frauds in Customs of, at Glasgow, &c., 1723, 102; all damaged to be burned, 102; bonds for duties to be converted into excise, payable on consumption, 122.
- Wales Thomas**, of Lancaster, carrier, and his family, 53.
- William III.** goes to Holland, 61; dies, March, 1702, 61; succeeded by Queen Anne, 61.
- War** declared in 1702, 61; puts a stop to the coasting trade between London and Lancashire, 61.
- Wyld William**, dies, 116.
- Willson Peter**, drysalter, London, 84.
- Welsh Henry**, 86.
- Wither Thomas**, of Over Kellet, 91; his widow dies, 106.
- Wheat** in 1719, 4s. 6d. a bushel, and sent in large quantities to Sweden, for iron and copper, 95; in 1721, corn, &c., plenty and cheap in all parts, 99; large imports of corn in 1729, 115; large exports in 1733, 123; ditto in 1734, 126; enormous exports in 1735, on which near £200,000. bounty money is paid, 127.
- Willson William**, dies, aged 108, 99.
- Wars** in Poland, Germany, and Lombardy, 126, 127.





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